THE POLITICAL POEMS OF SWIFT

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Introduction

The topic for M.Phil dissertation is "The Political Poems of Swift". In this dissertation an attempt is made to study Swift's poetry in the context of the religious and political conflicts of his time. Swift belonged to a period that was characterised by intense political and religious activity. The conflict between the Whigs and the Tories and, later, between the Whigs in power (that is, the Walpole Whigs or the Court Party) and the opposition Whigs (that is, the Country Party or the 'Patriots'), as also between the High-Churchmen and Low-Churchmen, had its impact on the contemporary literature since most of the writers of the period, both great and small, were, in one way or the other, involved with it. The responses of the literary wits to these conflicts and disputes assumed a variety of shapes: from direct pamphleteering to the use of the subtler modes of irony and allegory.

An intimate knowledge of Swift's life is necessary for understanding his poetry. His life and works are so inextricably bound with each other that we cannot understand the one without the other. The circumstances of his life shaped his ideas and beliefs and these in turn influenced all his writings. His poetry occupies a place of special

importance in this respect.

The fact that Swift was a homeless and neglected child who remained, throughout his life, a homeless man had a great effect on his thinking. Moreover, while he was with the Temples he felt that he was being treated as a dependent person which also hurt his pride to a great extent. The episodes of his love affairs with Varina, Stella and Vanessa, his experiences with the Whigs while he was close to them and his feeling for Ireland made him a deeply dis-satisfied person.

His desire of getting a good political or Church preferment in England was mainly instrumental in involving him in the politics of his time. He began as a Whig while in Temple's service but later, in 1710, in mere desperation, he joined hands with the Tories. All these years his main aim was to secure Church preferment and that too in England. Eventually he did get the preferment in the form of a Deanship but it was not in England. From 1714 till his death he had to live in Ireland, a country where he always felt like an exile in spite of his profound and genuine interest in its affairs.

During the very important four years of the Tory Government (1710-1714) and later, after 1720, when he started

speaking on behalf of Ireland, Swift not only developed into the greatest satirist of his time but also a great pamphleteer and thinker. On account of his friendship with Harley and St. John (that is, Lord Oxford and Viscount Bolingbroke), he came close to the Tory Party in 1710 and was soon recognized as its chief spokesman. The literary products of this period, therefore, reflect to a great extent the official Tory point of view. But Swift was too independent a thinker to keep himself bound to its ideologies and policies in every respect and on every issue. His political verse is studied mainly from this angle, that is, to find out how far and for what reasons Swift accepted or rejected the Tory line in his poetical writings. As we shall see in the following chapters, his writings offer sufficient evidence in support of the fact that while dealing with the important political issues of his time Swift normally followed his own judgement.

This evidence of independence of mind is also found in Swift's observations on the religious issues. Swift belonged to the Anglican Church and was for some time an active High-Churchman. In spite of this, his religious tracts do not always reveal a narrow, fanatical sectarian attitude. His poetry reveals his strict adherence to and his genuine concern for the Anglican Church and Clergy but he was not blind to

their shortcomings.

Swift's poems have been studied in the light of the information gathered from his other writings, chiefly his Journal to Stella, Gulliver's Travels, Drapier's Letters, The Examiner as well as his personal correspondence. His Journal to Stella is a very important document and has been found particularly useful in locating and understanding quite a few hidden allusions in the poems of the period covered by it.

It has been found convenient to divide the dissertation into six chapters. The first two chapters are meant to provide the necessary background information related to the political developments of Swift's time and the impact of these developments on the literary activities of the period. The third chapter examines the political elements in the major prose works of Swift. The next two chapters form the core of the dissertation and are devoted to a detailed study of Swift's satirical verse in the light of the day-to-day developments and his personal relationship with the contemporary political figures. In the concluding chapter an attempt is made to arrange and examine Swift's political opinions and comments, as found in his poems, thematically.

CHAPTER I

The Political Scene, 1689 - 1742

After the flight of James II to France and William's arrival in London in 1688, a constitutional settlement was made by a body of elected members, called Convention. In January, 1689, this body drew up a charter of demands called, Declaration of Rights, a document formally declaring illegal all those acts and practices of James II against which the Revolution of 1688 was directed. Thid Declaration also stipulated that the election of the members of Parliament ought to be free, there should be freedom of speech in Parliament, its sessions ought to be held frequently, all subjects shall have the right to petition the King, and keeping a standing army during peace without the Parliament's approval was illegal. Later, this document formed the basis of the Bill of Rights (1689) which settled the Crown upon William III and Mary. It also decreed that no King or Queen of England could be a Roman Catholic and also prescribed a succession policy, though no provisions were made if William, Mary and her sister Anne should die without leaving an heir.

The Revolution brought dynamic changes in English political history for it finally settled the great struggle between the King and the Parliament. It ended the long

espoused theory of the divine right of the King, by changing the basis of succession and setting up a King (or Queen) who owed his position to the choice of the people through their elected representatives, that is, the Parliament. A concept of balance of power was established between the Crown, the Lords and the Commons so that none of these could go beyond its respective powers in the face of restrains and checks from the other two. Thus, a limited monarchy was established and the supremacy of the Parliament was assured with a system of appropriate checks and balances.

William's chief enemy abroad was Louis XIV of France whose ambitions he rightly regarded as dangerous to the interests of England and a threat to the European balance of power. William's views allied him with the Whigs, who were in favour of continuing the war with France. But his first ministry comprised both the Whigs and the Tories (like Danby, Halifax, Godolphin, Nottingham, Shrewsbury, etc) who had played an equally important role in inviting William III to England.

In 1689, the first Mutiny Act was passed in order to safeguard the Parliament from any possible danger from the King and to deprive him of the support of the army, in

accordance with the Declaration of Right. This Bill helped the Parliament to gain full control over the army as it could no more be maintained without its annual approval. The Non-Conformists, active supporters of the Revolution, were now awarded by the Toleration Act granting them freedom of worship.[1] In the same year the Bill of Indemnity was introduced which created chaos in William's Parliament for the first time. This Bill was to deal with the prosecution of the officials of James II's reign. The Whigs and Tories clashed on this issue and this led to the dissolution of the Parliament. A new Parliament, with a Tory majority, met in March 1690. In 1694, the Triennial Bill was passed, which provided for a general election after every three years. William, after much hesitation, gave his consent to this Bill which removed the English people's fear of the King's constituting a House of Commons of his liking and then never dissolving it.

Since 1689 England was at war with France, with most of the fighting taking place in Namur, in the Netherlands. William captured Namur in 1695, which compensated in good measure for his previous defeats. Two years later, in 1697, the Peace of Ryswick was made by which Louis agreed to give up all the

1. Only the Protestant Non-Conformists benefited from this Act but their political disabilities were still left untouched; and the position of the Roman Catholics remained unaltered.

conquests he had made since 1678 and acknowledged William III as the King of England.

In 1694, Queen Mary died. William III was now considered as an obstacle by those who wished to see the old dynasty restored. This feeling posed a threat to the King's life and also to the government. In 1695, William formed a new Whig dominated ministry,[1] under the leadership of the Earl of Sunderland because his earlier plans for a mixed ministry had failed due to the wide gap between the Whig and the Tory views. In 1696, a French backed plot against William III was discovered which prompted the Parliament to continue the war with France.

In 1698, the second general elections were held in which a Tory majority was elected which had very little sympathy with William III. The Tories disagreed with him on the necessity of keeping a vigil on France. The army was reduced and William was criticised for granting forfeited property to the Dutch. The question of the succession had now gained momentum for it was still unsettled. In 1702, the Tory Parliament passed the Act of Settlement or the Succession Act, by which Sophia, wife of the Elector of Hanover, was recognised as being second in the line of succession, that is after James II's second

1. From 1690 to 1695 no general elections were held. This new ministry only included the Earl of Godolphin as a lone Tory.

daughter, Anne. In the same year, the Tories settled down to impeach the Whig ex-ministers for their share in the Partition Treaties,[1] which had been the outcome of European problems. Somers, Montague and Russell, the leading Whigs, were impeached for their roles in these treaties. Such an attitude of the Tories disgusted not only the country at large but also the House of Commons, which realizing its mistake, did not press for the prosecution of Somers. Thus, the House of Lords had to acquit Somers and the other prosecutions were also dropped eventually.

The Spaniards had not been consulted in the Partition Treaties. In 1700, Charles of Spain died and the Crown was offered to Philip, a grandson of Louis XIV. Louis now poured his troops into the Spanish Netherlands which alarmed the Dutch. But the Tories did not wish to fight a war for such a remote cause. The whole scene was, however, changed by the death of James II, for in spite of the Treaty of Ryswick, Louis XIV recognized his son as James III. This act of perfidy

1. The first Partition Treaty of 1698 settled that, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria should receive Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands; the Dauphin should receive Naples and Sicily; and the Archduke Charles should receive Milan and Luxemburg. Thus, both the French and Austrian candidates were excluded and the Netherlands were saved from France.
   The Second Partition Treaty of 1700 settled that, the Archduke Charles should receive Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands and; the Dauphin should receive Naples, Sicily, and Milan. The Second Treaty was signed because of the death of the Electoral Prince in 1699. The English Tories did not approve of these Treaties due to the danger to Europe from the aggrandisement of Austria or France, and many objected to the interference in the affairs of Spain.

aroused the Whigs and Tories alike. On seeing that the tide had changed, William dissolved the Parliament, and the nation responded by electing a Whig majority which pledged to support the principles of the Revolution and the Act of Settlement. William III prepared for a war with France and dismissed his Tory ministers. The Parliament voted supplies for the army and, to secure the Protestant Succession, imposed an oath to uphold it on all who held employment in the Church and the State. William saw himself about to fulfil the dreams of his life by leading a victorious army against France, for all Europe was preparing for war with France. But,all these hopes were left unrealized as William fatally injured himself after 1702.

William III was succeeded by Queen Anne in the same year. In the beginning of this reign it was the Duke of Marlborough, who, owing to his wife Sarah's influence over Anne, was the real ruler of England. At this stage Marlborough was a Tory and gave chief places in the government to the Tories. He was commander-in-Chief of the army; the Earl of Nottingham was the Secretary of State and Lord Godolphin was the Lord Treasurer. In pursuance of William's plans, War was declared against France and England supported Charles of Austria. Marlborough soon realized that on Whigs alone he could rely for an energetic support for his war policy. He began by replacing Nottingham, a strong Tory, by

Harley and St. John, both moderate Tories. In 1706, the Earl of Sunderland, a strong Whig, and Marlborough's son-in-law, was made Secretary of State. In 1708, Harley and St. John quitted the ministry and were replaced by Walpole, who later became the famous Prime Minister of England. Thus, gradually, the character of the ministry changed and it became purely a Whig Ministry.

The Union between England and Scotland was the greatest event of this period that was completed in 1707. Both the nations stood to gain from this. The chief issues concerning the Church, the law and the taxation policies were settled. The established Church of Scotland, Scottish Laws and judicial procedures were secured and all commercial advantages of England were made available to the Scotts without any reservation.

In spite of this great achievement, Marlborough's ministry lost popularity for the long continuing war with France/tire began to the patience of the nation. However, the Whig influence over Queen Anne prevented their displacement. Since 1708, Harley and St. John, leaders of the opposition, had contrived to replace the Duchess of Marlborough, in the Queen's affection, by Mrs. Abigail Hill, a cousin both of Harley and the Duchess but a Tory High-Churchwoman. In 1710, the Whig ministry made a great blunder in prosecuting Dr. Sacheverell,

a strong Tory, who had offended the government in a sermon by calling it as an enemy of the Church. Queen Anne seized upon this opportunity and, realizing the immense public support for Dr. Sacheverell, dismissed her Whig Ministers. A new Ministry was formed by the Tories under the leadership of Harley and St. John. The Duke of Shrewsbury became Secretary of State, the Duke of Ormonde was made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and the Duke of Marlborough alone was retained in command of the army.

In 1711, the Tories took advantage of the indignation caused by the attempt of a Frenchman, Guiscard, to assasinate Harley, and ventured to dismiss the Duchess of Marlborough and deprive the Duke of all his offices. Efforts were made to prosecute him for peculation but the Duke succeeded in proving himself innocent. Walpole, who had supported Marlborough as Secretary of War, was also impeached on the same ground and, though his guilt was not proved, he was sent to the Tower. Such a vindictive attitude of the staunch Tories alienated the moderate and fair minded people who had formerly been disgusted by Dr. Sacheverell's trial.

The first object of the new ministry was the conclusion of peace with France, a move in which they were opposed by the Whigs and a Tory leader, Nottingham, who was now acting with the Whigs. The Whigs repaid Nottingham's obligation by not

opposing the Occasional Conformity Bill, which the High-Church Tories had long advocated. By the Test and Corporation Acts no one could hold office, civil or military under the Crown, unless he had taken the Sacrament according to the Anglican form. Many Non-conformists had no objections to do this once and then attend their own chapels as usual. This practice was called Occasional Conformity. The Tory majority in Anne's first House of Commons had thrice passed a Bill to prevent this but on each occasion the Bill was rejected by a Whig majority in the Lords. This time (1711) the Bill passed through both the Houses without any opposition. In 1712, Queen Anne, on Harley's advice, created twelve new Tory Peers to overcome the Whig majority in the Lords. This smoothed the way for the government and Peace of Utrecht was concluded in 1713. This Peace was a sort of a compromise by which, besides other settlements, Louis XIV acknowledged the Protestant succession. Holland and Austria also agreed to the conditions of this Peace. The Whigs tried their best to oppose what they called "the Tory Peace", but having a majority in both the Houses, the Tories had their way.

Having settled this important matter, the Tory leadership devoted its time to the crucial issue of the succession on account of Queen Anne's failing health. The question was whether to support the succession of Sophia or to try to bring back the Young Pretender. The country showed little enthusiasm

for either of the two and, therefore, a determined ministry could possibly have turned the scale either way. Both the Earl of Oxford (Harley) and Viscount Bolingbroke (St. John) were in negotiation with the Young Pretender, who in the elections of 1714 advised his friends to support the ministry. But the Tories could not evolve a unanimously agreed policy owing to the growing conflict between Bolingbroke and Oxford, who held different views and were of different natures. Bolingbroke wished to make a Tory government necessary to the House of Hanover or bring in the Young Pretender. The ministry worked hard to secure the Young Pretender's accession and thus retain the Tory ascendancy. For this purpose Ormonde was made warden of Cinque Ports, which commanded the South Coast, many officers loyal to Marlborough were dismissed and the army was reorganized. To secure the support of the High Church Party the Schism Act was passed (1714), which provided that no person who was not a member of the Anglican Church should keep a school or act as a tutor. These acts alarmed the Hanoverian Party and a motion was passed in the Parliament to ask the electoral Prince, Sophia's grandson, to come over and represent his family in England. Moreover, the passing of the Schism Act wrecked the ministry for Bolingbroke got Oxford dismissed (on 27th July, 1714) on finding that he was luke warm towards this move. Oxford, being a Non-Conformist, was

out of sympathy with this Act.

Bolingbroke would now have had his way, but Queen Anne's sudden death, on 12th of August, 1714, took him and the country by surprise. Before Bolingbroke could execute his plans, the Whigs with Shrewsbury (who had taken Oxford's place as Lord Treasurer through Bolingbroke's help on the 29th of July, 1714) as their leader and Somerset and Argyll as his aides, prepared to secure the succession of the Protestant heir. This Whig move was so quick and unexpected that it prevented Bolingbroke from bringing in the Pretender and, secured the succession of Sophia's son, George, the Elector of Hanover as the new King. Thus, George I was proclaimed as King of England in September 1714.[1]

George I trusted his ministers very much, who took important decisions while he was, often, in Hanover. Such a King was what England needed, for during his reign the system of party government took deep roots and became a recognized feature of the English consitution. The institution of Prime Ministership also developed during this reign, for George I could not speak or understand English language and, therefore, at Council meetings his place was often taken by a leading minister, who in due course of time came to be called

1. Sophia had died two months before Queen Anne.

as the Prime Minister.

Unlike William and Marlborough, George I formed a Whig ministry with the Earl of Stanhope, Charles Townshend and Robert Walpole as new leaders of the Government. The immediate task of this ministry was to impeach the previous Tory ministry, which was accused of having sacrificed English interests by the Treaty of Utrecht and also of having intrigued to restore the Pretender. Bolingbroke and Ormonde fled to France and were attained in absence, while Oxford was arrested and committed to the Tower.

The Whigs,expectedly, triumphed, in the general elections of 1715 as the reaction against the Tories was complete. These election witnessed widespread riots due to a Jacobite rising and Tory resentment. George I succeeded in curbing these riots mainly because of his foreign policy which was chiefly directed towards preventing any external assistance to the Jacobites. After the death of Louis XIV, in 1715, England developed good relations with France and, now, only Spain was to be feared for she could try to regain the honours she had lost due to the Treaty of Utrecht. But, in 1715, England entered a quadruple alliance with Holland, France and Austria to maintain this treaty, leaving Spain alone and powerless.

At home, during this period, the chief measure of the government was the passing of the Septennial Act (1716), to

prolong the duration of the Parliament to seven years.[1] This Act helped the Whigs to consolidate their power during the longer intervals between the general elections.

By 1717, political conflicts assumed the dimensions of personal squabbles, for the Whig triumvirate of Townshend, Stanhope and Walpole broke due to differences between Stanhope and Townshend. In 1717 Townshend ceased to be the Secretary of State and was sent to Ireland as its new Lord-Lieutenant. In the following year Walpole and Townshend resigned from their offices and William Pultency retired. Stanhope now became the leading minister with Sunderland and Addison as his chief aides.

In 1718, Stanhope, who still held the old Whig dislike of religious disabilities, persuaded the Parliament to repeal the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts. Moreover, he also wanted to relieve the Catholics of some of their disabilities but the cry of "The Church is in danger" deprived him of this honour. Walpole who did not oppose the repeal of these two Acts resisted the passage of Sunderland's Peerage Bill in 1719. This was a great defeat for the government and a triumph for the Whig faction led by Walpole.

The year 1719 also witnessed the rise of the South-Sea Scheme which had originated with the success of the South Sea Company. This Company had secured through an Act of the

1. According to the Act of 1694 the Parliament was to be dissolved every three years. Thus, the Septennial Act was passed to avoid general elections due in 1718, when the country had just witnessed a Jacobite Rebellion.

Parliament, in 1711, the exclusive rights to trade in the Pacific Ocean and along the east coast of America. In 1721, this scheme, also called 'South-Sea Bubble', deeply implicated the government and led to its break-up. A cry was raised against the affairs of the Company and an investigation was demanded. It was discovered that bribes had been given to many Courtiers and Parliamentarians to secure the passage of this Bill in 1711. As a result of this exposure Stanhope dropped dead defending himself against the charges of corruption; Aislabie, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was sent to the Tower, James Cragg committed suicide and Sunderland resigned from the office. Walpole, who had opposed this scheme in Parliament, was now called upon to save the country.

In March 1721, Walpole became the new Prime Minister of England with Townshend, Pulteney and Carteret as his close associates. Walpole was a very shrewd and gifted politician who remained at the helm of English affairs for the next two decades. All his political rivals had now left the political scene leaving him alone to exercise his influence over the country. Walpole's greatest flaw was that he wanted to have full power in his hands with no interference, and this led to a series of quarrels between him and the other leading Whigs.

As a matter of policy, Walpole ruled the country all by himself. The need for such a caution was soon shown by the

discovery of a Jacobite conspiracy.[1] Foreseeing no danger, Walpole allowed Bolingbroke to return to England in 1723, but without revoking the attainder due to which the latter was prevented from sitting in the House of Lords.

In 1724, the first quarrel between Walpole and his Whig colleagues took place. At this stage Lord Carteret was his chief opponent. George I, with whom Walpole was a great favourite, supported Walpole and Carteret was removed from the English political scene through his appointment as the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. The Duke of Newcastle and his brother, Henry Pelham, were now Walpole's trusted colleagues.

In 1725, Walpole quarrelled with Pulteney, who quitted office to organize an opposition against him. Pulteney reorganized the old country party, mainly comprising of the opposition Whigs. Bolingbroke, who knew he could never regain his lost honour as long as Walpole was at the helm of affairs, now became Pulteney's chief ally. Pulteney gathered the discontented Whigs in the Parliament against Walpole and Bolingbroke strove to excite the country by attacking Walpole and the ministers in the Craftsman.[2]

Since 1718, the house of the Prince of Wales, later

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1. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, the chief Jacobite agent was arrested and tried for this conspiracy. His guilt was proved and he was banished from the country in 1722.
2. The Craftsman was the first regular opposition paper which was founded in 1726 chiefly to harass the Walpole administration.

George II, had developed into a focal centre of the opposition to Walpole and George I due to the growing rivalry between him and his father. Pulteney and Bolingbroke flattered the Prince of Wales with a hope of getting Walpole dismissed after his accession as King of England. In the midst of these intrigues Geroge I died suddenly in Hanover in 1727.

The new King, George II, was fully under the influence of his wife, Queen Caroline, who was the real head of the government for the first ten years of his reign. In accordance with his sentiments as Prince of Wales, George II dismissed Walpole and appointed Sir Spencer Compton in his place. But Compton was so incompetent that Walpole, using Queen Caroline's influence, managed to get himself restored as Prime Minister. This was a great disappointment for the opposition which could now only continue to harass Walpole.

Walpole steadily carried out his old policies both at home and abroad. Spain was still hostile to the Treaty of Utrecht and in 1725 she succeeded in persuading Austria to join her due to the latter's jealousy of the Hanoverian influence in Germany. Walpole confined England's operation strictly to the defensive. In 1730, Lord Townshend, Walpole's friend and brother-in-law, left the ministry after an open quarrel with him, leaving Walpole supreme but all alone.

The opposition to Walpole got its first success in 1733 when he had to withdraw his much celebrated Excise Scheme due to a strong public opposition to it. Queen Caroline's death, in 1737, came as the next blow to his power. George II still continued to trust him but Fredrick, the Prince of Wales, had started patronizing the opposition. Moreover, the growing hostility between England and Spain posed a great danger to Walpole's power. The English had to suffer great losses due to Walpole's defensive policy. The opposition took full advantage of this situation and accused Walpole of neglecting national interests. Thus, in 1739, Walpole, much against his wishes had to declare war against Spain, in which England suffered great losses. The political scene was now reversed and Walpole began to lose his hold as his strong supporters began deserting him. The determined opposition took full advantage of the situation to topple Walpole in 1742, when he was defeated in the House of Commons on the question of the Chippenham election. He now resigned from all his offices and retired to the House of Lords as Earl of Oxford in 1742 and died three years later, in 1745.

In Ireland, James II was popular due to his preference for the Roman Catholics. But, in 1690, William III defeated James II in the Battle of Boyne and, thus, crushed the Irish Independence movement. He re-established the Protestant

supremacy and imposed severe disabilities on the Irish Catholics. Later, in 1708 and 1732-33, the English government made its efforts to repeal the Test-Act in Ireland to provide relief to the Dissenters and Catholics but could not succeed in its endeavours.

In 1724, Lord Carteret, on being appointed as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, saw that by Poyning's law no bill could be introduced into the Irish Parliament which had not first been passed by the English Council. This deprived the Irish Parliament of all power of independent legislation. In 1719, the British Parliament passed a statute that empowered it to pass laws for Ireland. This took away even the semblance of independence from Ireland and naturally made the Irish very jealous of English interference.

During the reign of William III some monopolizing Acts had been passed by the English Parliament prohibiting export of Irish goods from Ireland except to England and Scotland. Thus, the English government had persistently ignored Irish welfare to further the interests of the English industry and traders.

In 1722, Walpole granted a patent to an English ironmonger, William Wood, to coin £ 108,000 worth of copper coins to meet the shortage of coins in Ireland. But a violent

agitation against this patent forced the English government to withdraw it in 1724. This was the first constitutional victory of the Irish over Great Britain. After this controversial issue no significant political development took place in Ireland during Walpole's premiership.

CHAPTER II

Literature and Politics, 1688 - 1740

The Revolution of 1688 had a decisive influence in the development of English national life and literature. By now it had become clear that the great political battles of England were going to be fought in the Commons, and beyond the Commons, in the great public arena of literary activities. The political atmosphere of this period contributed to the development of a number of complicated controversies, to which it was impossible for men of letters to remain indifferent. So, men with literary talents were increasingly drawn into the vortex of political controversy and were frequently rewarded with government appointments and preferments. Some of them were offered political and diplomatic careers of the highest distinction by those in whose hands the real power lay. In a way, such appointments served as bribes or rewards for their politico-literary services. Literary wits like Addison and Prior are excellent examples of this type of patronage. The King and his family members, the great statesmen and the ministers were simultaneously attacked and honoured in literary works. Men of letters often expressed their party principles and prejudices through various literary forms, including poetry, drama and the ephemeral journalism of the day.

Thus, political writing, in the Augustan age, attained the dignity of a high literary form in the works of a group of major writers like Dryden, Swift, Pope, Gay, Prior, Addison, Steele, Defoe and Fielding.

During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century most of the politico-literary writings were inevitably aligned to the course of events and at the time of political crisis the flow of such material, specially pamphlets, reached flood level. Most of the political writings of the Whig and Tory wits took the form of infighting, punch and counter-punch, hitting above, around and below the belt. All the literary cliques that sprang up in clubs and coffee-houses had definite party leanings; the kit-Cat Club was Whig and the fictitious Scriblerous club was Tory.

The relation between literature and politics from 1688 to 1745 can best be understood by analysing the involvement of literary figures in politics during the reigns of William III and Mary, Queen Anne, George I and George II.

In William III and Mary's reign Dryden was the chief literary figure. Prior to the Revolution of 1688, he had written much about state affairs that revealed the political convictions of a staunch royalists. The royal patronage received by

Dryden is evident from the fact that in 1668 he was appointed as Poet Laureate with an annual pension. But he lost this position on the accession of William III and Mary for he could not persuade himself to take the oath of allegiance. This serves as an example of the reversals in the lives of the wits during the Augustan period.

Dryden's involvement in politics prior to the Revolution is indicated in Absalom and Achitophel (1681) and The Medall (1682), in which he attacked the Whig doctrine and leaders. After the Revolution he remained loyal to his avowed convictions but still continued to enjoy the friendship of influential men some of whom were strangely enough, Whigs.

The Revolution brought a notable change in the political temper of the literature of this period, specially that of drama. The dramatists started depicting Catholic atrocities and the Jacobites became a customary target of ridicule and attack. This showed the prevalence of the Whig ideology in literature and in the society. Nathaniel Lee's The Massacre of Paris (1679) is a notable indictment of Catholicism written as a contribution to the Protestant propaganda evoked by the Popish Plot. The play became, as Lee's editors obseve, "the stock offering of the London stage in times of anti-Protestant unrest",[1] such

1. Thomas B. Stroup and Arthur L. Cooke (eds.). The Works of Nathaniel Lee (New Brunswick, N.J., 1954-1955), ii. 3., referred to by John Loftis in The Politics of Drama in Augustan England (Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 23.

as during and after the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745.

The Revolution also resulted in abrupt changes in the politics of certain individual dramatists. D'Urfey and Crowne now wrote Williamite satires in contrast to their earlier royalist ones. D'Urfey's Love for Money (1689) and Crowne's The English Friar (1690) were harsh satirical attacks on the Jacobites. Disloyalty towards the government made the Jacobites a chief target of attack in literature. The Revolution also forced Dryden to devote most of his time to play-writing due to his loss of Court position and pension. In 1689 he produced Don Sebastian reminding his audience of their duty towards their unfortunate sovereign, James II. Dryden dedicated this play to the Earl of Leicester, brother of the Whig martyr, Algernon Sidney, only to protect himself against the charge of sedition. He was much bolder in Cleomenes, the Sparton Hero (1692). This play was, in the beginning, prohibited on the stage for it reflected against the Government[1] but was soon performed with the assistance of the Earl of Rochester (Queen's uncle) and his family.

Literature in general and drama in particular, during this period, supported the military policy of the King and the government. The stage reflected bitterly on the poverty of the

1. Brief Historical Relations of State Affairs (Oxford, 1857), ii, 413., referred to by John Loftis in Politics of Drama in Augustan England, p. 25.

disbanded soldiers which was due to the Parliamentary reductions in the size of the Standing Army following the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697. Farquhar's plays allude to the army and the war. In Love and a Bottle (1698) he bitterly refers to the nation's ingratitude towards the soldiers. This was the year when a Tory majority in Parliament, led by Harley, forced a drastic reduction in the size of the Standing Army.

Literary figures, in this period, made literary endeavours to gain Court favours by pleasing the King and the administration. Congreve wrote a pastoral elegy on Queen Mary's death and a Pindaric ode congratulating William III on his conquest of Namur. Swift celebrated similar victories of William III in his poetry. Garth, a zealous Whig, complimented the King and other prominent whigs in his poems. He was rewarded with an appointment as Physician to the King and the Army, in 1714, for his constant fidelity to the Whig cause and was also knighted with Marlborough's sword. John Prompfet was among the numerous poets who wrote Odes on Queen Mary's death in 1694. Defoe's first success as a political writer came with The True-Born Englishman (1701). This was designed to praise William III and it did bring to him royal favours. But William's death in the next year put

a full stop to all his hopes. Defoe's next political work, The Shortest Way with the Dissenters (1702), was a serious miscalculation for it was equally misunderstood by the Dissenters and the High Flying Tories. The government, alarmed at this situation sent him to the pillory. This punishment evoked Hymn to the Pillory in which Defoe attacked many a great political figure of his time. This work, however, turned the sympathy of the mob towards Defoe and, thus, he managed to transform his humiliation into a personal triumph.

Queen Anne's reign was marked by violence, unrest and strife over religious and political squables related to the war, the succession issue and a dozen other nodes of crisis. The average man of this period wanted something that dealt with the current affairs. This was provided through newspapers, journals, periodicals, pamphlets and occasional literary pieces — the ephemeral product of the day. The last phase of Queen Anne's reign witnessed a vigorous political crisis with which most of the eminent writers of the period were involved.

In the first decade of the eighteenth century, the drama celebrated the victories at war (of the Tory general, the Earl of Ormonde, in particular)maintaining a discreet silence in

respect of the reversals. Cibber celebrated Ormonde's victory at Vigo in 1702 by dedicating She Would And She Would Not to him. Forthright Whig dramatists like Steele and Rowe dedicated The Lying Lover[1] (1703) to Ormonde and The Fair Penitent (1703) to the Duke's wife, respectively. Three years later, Rowe dedicated Ulysses (1706) to Godolphin for his national services. The prologue to Mrs. Pix's The Adventures in Madrid (1706) hails Marlborough as the conqueror of King Louis. In 1707, Addison paid Marlborough the greatest dramatic compliment by moulding the legend of Fair Rosamond and her bower into an opera with allusions to his victory at Blenheim. In 1705 Addison had written The Campaign[2] to celebrate Marlborough's above-mentioned victory. Harley replied by engaging Philips as a Tory Poet, whose Blenheim was produced with compliments to St. John, the then Secretary of State for War. Marlborough and Godolphin enjoyed more literary favour[3] than patriotism demanded during the first decade of the eighteenth century due to the patronage extended by the Whigs to the men of letters. Among other Whigs, Halifax, Somers and Wharton received dramatic dedications from Congreve, Rowe, Thomas Baker, D'Urfey, etc. Among the Tories Ormonde alone attracted

1. Steele had personal and non-political reasons for showing gratitude to the Duke of Ormonde, the patron of his early years, who had procured for him his appointment to the Charter House.
2. This procured for Addison an appointment as Commissioner of Appeals and from henceforth he was involved in active politics.
3. For their war policy which implied Whiggism.

dedications from Cibber, Dennis, Rowe and Steele. But the Whig doctrine dominated the political theory in drama. Dennis' Liberty Asserted (1704) was in honour of people's "Liberty" for which the Whigs claimed all credit. Addison's Cato (1713) was the climax for such a celebration of "Liberty". Dennis in his play glanced at the growing lack of enthusiasm for the war on the part of the Tories. His play, Appius and Virginia (1709) is Whiggish and it was dedicated to Godolphin, who was then being severely attacked by the Tories. The dramatic enthusiasm for Godolphin and Marlborough and their war policy implied popularity of Whiggism from 1704 onwards due to, in Trevelyan's words, a "High Tory Vendetta against Marlborough".[1]

After the Tory (political) victory in 1710, Harley and St. John (better known as Earl of Oxford and Viscont Bolingbroke) paid increased attention to the stage and other media of public persuasion and propaganda. Granville succeeded Walpole as Secretary of War in this year.[2] In 1711 the Tories decorated him with the title of Baron Lansdowne, and this made him one of the twelve peers that had been created to secure a majority in the House of Lords to bring about the total discomfiture of Marlborough and the Whigs. In 1712 Granville was made Comptroller and in 1713 Treasurer of the Household. The Tories, through Granville, offered a theatrical post to Steele, who was

1. England Under Queen Anne (London, 1930-34), ii, 7., referred to by Loftis in Politics of Drama in Augustan England, p. 39.
2. Walpole was dismissed by the Tories but in 1714 on George I's accession he was reinstated to this post and Granville was sent to the Tower.

then with the Whigs. This was a political bribe, for Oxford (Harley) wanted to gain Steel's allegiance or, at least, his journalistic silence. Swift wanted this post for Rowe, his friend, but Oxford preferred Steele because he was a powerful political journalist besides being a dramatist like Rowe. The Tories also barred the performance of Rowe's Tamerlane for it summed up the Whig constitutional position. The frequency with which this play was performed between 1701-10 suggests that it was the chief vehicle by which Whig ideas on constitutional theory and religious tolerance were disseminated. It was frankly accepted as a party play, performed when the Whigs were in power and suppressed when they were not. Rowe's hopes were fulfilled when the Whigs, coming to power in 1714, appointed him as the Poet Laureate.

Addison's Cato, produced in 1713, was a major politico-literary event, acclaimed both by the Whigs and the Tories for their political ends. As a matter of fact Cato was a Whig play but its political meaning was an enigma then, as it is now. Hence, it was such that both the parties could interpret it according to their respective views. It is quite probable that Addison wanted it to be like that so that he could please his Whig friends without displeasing the party in power.

During Queen Anne's reign the political involvements of Defoe, Prior, Arbuthnot and Pope were very important. From 1704, Defoe was serving Harley secretly through The Review. In 1708 he transferred his services to Godolphin, on Harley's dismissal, and again in 1710 to Harley on his return to power. His job during these years was to use his journalistic talents to support and popularize the government policies. He continued to dash off political pamphlets 'till the last days of his life.

In Queen Anne's reign Matthew Prior gradually moved towards the Tories and became deeply involved in politics like Swift and Defoe. After Anne's death the Whigs imprisoned him in the hope of extracting from him something incriminating against Harley and St. John. But earlier he had held a number of important positions. In 1697 he was Secretary to the English delegation engaged in the negotiations for the Treaty of Ryswick, and in the following year to the Embassy of Lord Portland in Paris respecting the Partition Treaty. He was also engaged in the preliminaries to the Treaty of Utrecht and in 1712 was sent to Paris to finalise it.

Dr. Arbuthnot's The History of John Bull (1712), a political satire, is a remarkable contribution to propagandistic literature for it aided the Tory ministry in preparing the country for the Treaty of Utrecht. This work carried on in its

own way the task performed by Swift in The Conduct of the Allies and The Examiner. Earlier, Dr. Arbuthnot had defended the union of England and Scotland in his pamphlet, A Sermon ... on the Subject of the Union (1706).

The early poems of Pope contain some patriotic sentiments which reflect his bias towards the Tories. But in 1712 and 1713 he was also contributing to Addison's Spectator and Steele's Guardian. He also wrote the prologue to Addison's Cato, for which he was loudly clapped as a Whig. But, later on, he moved towards the Tories and a coolness developed between him and Addison. He now joined hands with Swift and Arbuthnot, active members of the Scriblerous Club, which vowed perpetual war against pedantry which they detected, mostly, in the minor Whig wits. In 1713, he inserted a passage in Windsor Forest in praise of the Treaty of Utrecht which had just been concluded by the Tory ministry. From 1714 onwards he was more actively involved in politics, having come closer to the Tories and the anti-Walpole Whig faction.

The second and third decades of the century witnessed a vigorous journalistic warfare heavily coloured by political disputes. Mist's Weekly Journal, Applebee's Weekly Journal, The Grub-Street Journal and The Craftsman were all engaged in this warfare in one way or the other. The Whig and Hanoverian

papers were opposed by the Tory and Jacobite papers but later on the tussle was between the pro-Walpole papers and those of the Country Party. All these papers were vehicles for party propaganda and even their literary columns smacked of party politics as they were inspired by party gossip.

The sense of political crisis that marked the closing phase of Queen Anne's reign and the early years of George I's gradually subsided by 1720. Feelings which could have earlier produced a civil war were now replaced by a lively phase of party wranglings. From 1714 onwards the Whigs dominated the political scene with Walpole at the helm of affairs. A few years later, political conflicts occured between groups within the Whig party. The Court party was strongly opposed by the Country party which consisted of the Tories and the dissatisfied Whigs.[1] It was now an anti-and pro-Walpole affair, whereas before, it used to be a Whig versus Tory or a Hanoverian versus Jacobite affair.

Steele, now a partner in Durry Lane management, sided with Walpole against the ministry of Stanhope and Sunderland in the internecine quarrels of the Whigs. This was also Addison's last entry into the arena of politics which broke his ever cordial relations with Steele. Steele attacked the Peerage Bill in the Plebeian while Addison defended it in The Old Whig. The

1. It included such stalwarts as Bolingbroke, Pulteney and, later, Cobham and Chesterfield.

Duke of Newcastle, the Lord Chamberlane since 1717, reacted politically by removing Steele from his Durry Lane post. Steele later on regained the post on Walpole's appointment as Prime Minister in 1721.

Durry Lane now produced the most distinctly Whiggish plays like Cibber's The Refusal (1721) and Steele's The Conscious Lovers (1722). As the decade advanced, Durry Lane became more and more firmly associated with Walpole. But, by 1725, the opposition to Walpole also became very raucous. His opponents now started attacking him, Cibber and Durry Lane in the same breath. The reason for these attacks was partly a personal dislike of Cibber, who was very prominent in Durry Lane affairs, which also made the theatre a natural target of Tory attacks on the Dunces.[1] In 1717, Pope and Gay had quarrelled with Cibber over Durry Lane's treatment of their joint venture, Three Hours after Marriage,[2] and this hostility continued for decades. In the later version of The Dunciad, Cibber replaced Lewis Theobald as the chief dunce. The relationship of Pope's chief 'dunces', Lewis Theobald or Cibber, with the theatre provides a suggestive instance of a parallel between literary and political alignments. Pope considered Theobald to be a Tory, which caused a good deal of trouble for the latter who was hoping to be appointed as Poet Laureate through

1. Reference is to Pope's The Dunciad first version, fairly underway long before it was published in 1728.
2. Besides John Gay and Pope, Dr. Arbuthnot also had a hand in it.

Walpole and the then Prince of Wales (George II). Swift was the inspirer of The Dunciad and its effect was to annihilate the hack-writers of Grub-Street who were writing in support of the Government of Walpole.

In George II's reign (from 1728), most of the literary talent was attached to the Opposition, consisting mainly of people whom Walpole had ignored. Gay's The Beggar's Opera (1728) was the opposition's greatest success against Walpole for it capped its triumphs in Gulliver's Travels and The Craftsman. It gave new courage to Walpole's opponents, who now realized more fully the propagandistic utility of the stage[1] and literature. This Opera had important political connotations as it suggested parallels between the ministers and criminals and carried deft allusions to the vices that had long been charged against Walpole; that is, graft, bribery, treachery and immorality. Gay suggested that the crimes of the highwaymen and crooks were no different from their so called betters i.e., Walpole, the King and his ministers. This play was Gay's greatest success (from political view point) as a literary figure and it was inspired by his conviction, reinforced by Pope and others, that Walpole was responsible for the humiliating offer of the post of gentleman usher to an infant daughter of George II. Walpole who had earlier appointed Gay as Lottery Commissioner, however,

1. D.H. Stevens, 'Some Immediate Effects of The Beggar's Opera', in Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature (Chicago, 1923), pp. 180-9., referred to by Loftis in Politics of Drama in Augustan England, p. 94.

allowed him to retain this post till 1731 in spite of the attacks on himself in The Beggar's Opera (1728) and its sequence, Polly (1729).

The opposition press cheerfully elucidated and elaborated the political meaning of these plays (as it did of the older ones) in The Craftsman. Pope, Swift and Gay himself provided an extended commentary, under a light cloak of irony, on the political meaning of the Opera. The massive success of Gay's play was supplemented by intensive criticism of the government in the press, which forced Walpole to take punitive action. Mist's Weekly Journal and The Craftsman were prosecuted and new government-sponsored Journals took birth with the purpose of counteracting the opposition propaganda. In 1729, Walpole forbade the performance of Gay's Polly even though it was much less injurious than the Opera.

Literary attacks on Walpole, in dramatic pieces in particular, increased more and more in the 1730s. The effect of the opposition campaign was heightened with the production of Henry Fielding's Tom Thumb (1730) and The Author's Farce (1730), in the latter of which Cibber appears as a symbol of cultural corruption attributed to Walpole.

In 1733 Walpole introduced his famous Excise Bill, a

measure which aroused vigorous opposition resistance which forced Walpole to withdraw it after the second reading in the Commons. The Court Legacy, The Commodity Excised and The Sturdy Beggars were some of the plays that were written (but not staged) to severely denounce Walpole's proposed Scheme as a menace to British Liberties. In 1734 appeared another squib on Walpole under the title, Majesty Misled, Or The Overthrow of Evil Ministers. The effect of these crude pieces was nothing as compared to that of Fielding's very popular political plays, Pasquin (1736), Historical Register (1737), and Eurydice Hiss'd (1737). Provoked to the extreme, Walpole had to take stern repressive measures which took the form of the Licensing Act of 1737. This was designed to curb literary attacks on himself and his ministry. Fielding, who had filled the gap caused by Gay's death, was certainly more effective in castigating and irritating Walpole.

The Craftsman highlighted the indignities suffered by the English due to Walpole's peace policy through out 1730s. The opposition writers chided the government for failing to protect the national honour. Thus, from 1737, the cry for war grew more strident and in October, 1739, Walpole much against his wishes declared war (the war of Jenkin's Ear) against Spain amid national rejoicing.

During this period Pope's literary fame was at its

height. In close contact with Bolingbroke, whose political views he had come to share more openly, he wrote poems after poems on the theme of corruption. His greatest success of this period was the Imitations of Horace (1733-7). The Epistle to Augustus was a mock euology of George II, praising him with bitter irony for all the political and personal virtues which he so obviously lacked. In Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot Pope, while paying tributes to Arbuthnot, bitterly attacked his own enemies who were chiefly Whigs. In the Immitations of Epistle I. i, addressed to Bolingbroke, Pope dealt with the Country and the Court parties, making pungent remarks on the latter.

After Bolingbroke's forced retirement from politics, Pope's villa at Twickenham had become the rallying point of the opposition. He assumed more lofty airs and attacked Walpole strongly for all his crimes, making oblique reflections on the morals and manners of his political and literary supporters.

As seen above, the Augustan literature reflects clearly the political and social scene of the age. Literature was used as a vehicle for political propaganda and party feelings. It was immersed in political controversy, a fact that contributes to its distinctive qualities - its clarity, its wit and its

force. As at any other time, the political action of the individuals turned on varying combinations of political theories, private interests and personal loyalties. The writers of this period became so pre-occupied with the issues of their time that they often appear to be publicists rather than dedicated men of letters.

Drama was the chief literary form for effective propaganda besides poetry and journalistic literature. This propagandistic purpose, in literature, often led to exaggerated earnestness, over-emphatic statements and over-simplified arguments. The increasing use of drama for this kind of work was due to its direct contact with the people and, except for government interference, there was nothing to prevent the Augustan dramatists from turning their satirical attention to political issues. Their themes were, in most cases, narrowly partisan and, in some, generalized to the point of being platitudinous. On the one hand there was the personal allusiveness of The Beggar's Opera and, on the other, the oratorical dramatization of political theory in Tamerlane. The prologues and epilogues of various plays became vehicles for party sentiments and they usually received a thumping response from the audience. Political verse and journalistic activity

played a very considerable role in rousing and sustaining party feelings at the time of political crisis. Literature was intended to influence, and it did influence, the largest possible section of the society in the quickest possible way during the five decades that followed the Glorious Revolution.

CHAPTER III

Political Elements in Swift's Major Prose Works

This chapter is a brief analysis of the political elements as found in Swift's major prose works. His poetry shall be dealt with in the later chapters. This analysis is done in the context of the political atmosphere prevailing in the time of Swift. In the preceding chapters the fact has been adequately noticed that Swift's period was characterized by intense political activity involving the conflicts between the Whigs and the Tories, later between the Whigs in power and those in opposition, and the struggle of the Irish people for a greater say in the affairs of their country. Most of the writers of this period were deeply involved in these controversies, which , in turn, had a great impact on their literary activities.

Swift was actively associated with the political developments of his time and, therefore, his works reflect his political affinities, convictions and responses to particular issues. He was no doubt the most effective political propagandist, satirist and pamphleteer of his period. Initially, he had shown some leanings towards the Whigs, but this was during a rather insignificant phase of his life. Later on, he found himself at the centre of affairs, firstly, during 1710-1714, when he virtually became the chief spokesman

the
of/Tory Ministry, and later, under adverse conditions, when he championed the Irish cause by inspiring a nation-wide agitation against Wood's Half-pence in the 1720's .

He showed his interest in political affairs for the first time in 1701 when he anonymously published, A Discourse of the Contests and Dissentions between the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome. This pamphlet was in defence of Lord Somers, who had been attacked by the Tories for the Partition Treaty. This proved to be quite effective and earned for Swift the gratitude of the prominent Whigs like Somers, Halifax, Addison, Steele, etc. The significance of this pamphlet lies in the fact that it presents Swift as a moderate in politics.

In 1704, A Tale of a Tub and The Battle of the Books were published. The Tale exposed him to the charge of being hostile towards Christianity. Swift was misinterpreted, for what he had attacked, in this book, was not religion but the abuses of it. It is an attack on the Papists and Dissenters in particular with some mild rebuke of the Anglicans as well. The Battle is a mock-epic defending Sir William Temple, Swift's patron, against the attacks of William Wotton and Richard Bentley on the issue of the "Ancients" and the "Moderns".

Swift's friendship with Harley, a prominent Tory, brought him to the fold of that Party when it came to power in 1710. Harley promised Swift some good position in the Church

as a reward for his services to the party. Harley badly felt the need of 'some good pen' to keep up the spirit of his party men. This was what Swift volunteered to do when he took over the affairs of The Examiner, publishing his first weekly article on Nov. 2, 1710 and the last, on June 14, 1711. Thus, The Examiner was the product of the first year of Swift's political activity in the service of the Tories.

The purpose of The Examiner, as laid down by St. John in A Letter to the Examiner, was to develop and reiterate the government's policy towards war.[1] Swift's task was to justify the changes in the ministry and to lay stress on the revolutionary plans of the former (Whigs) men in power by showing what was likely to happen if they were to return to power. He even suggested that the Whigs were a danger to the Church and the Monarchy both. In The Examiner number 29, dated Feb. 22, 1710, he justified the dismissal of the old ministry by attacking it for, "Insolence and Avarice", "Tyranny", "Corruption", and etc., in its management of the State and the Church. In his paper number 20, dated Dec. 21, 1710, he presented the evidences of corruption in the army and pointed out the dangers of allowing its officers any influence in the affairs of the government.

Swift performed his duties well by attacking, in The Examiner, the prominent members of the previous Whig ministry

1. The War of Spanish Succession.

so as to discredit them in the public eye. He accused them of committing many abuses that had gone unpunished. He successfully undermined the reputation of Marlborough and Wharton, both of whom were very popular Whigs. Swift attacked Marlborough mildly in number 16, dated Nov. 23, 1710, but violently in the 27th issue, dated Feb. 8, 1710. Swift's claims of being only an "Examiner" and not a "Reformer" were meant to show that his approach was unbiased. But this was not the case. His observations on Wharton, Marlborough and other Whig leaders are not just 'examinations' but pure invectives.[1]

Another purpose of The Examiner was to defend the Tory ministry against the Whig charge that it would restore Popery and the Pretender. The Whig papers like The Medley and The Observator were expressing such apprehensions. Swift in reply called the Whigs anti-Christian and defended the Tories as upholders of the Church and the Constitution. In the Examiner number 40, dated May 10, 1711, Swift again attacked the Whigs vehemently. The unsuccessful attempt on the life of Harley gave Swift an opportunity to attack the minister's (Harley's) political enemies in number 32, dated March 15, 1710.

1. Swift's extreme personal dislike for Wharton had been due to the latter's cold reception while he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In number 17, dated Nov. 30, 1710, Swift critically refers to Wharton's government in Ireland, and in the 22nd issue, dated Jan. 4, 1710, attacks him as being the chief enemy of the Church.

Another service rendered by Swift, through The Examiner, was that he strove to create a proper atmosphere for the Peace of Utrecht by influencing and mentally preparing the general public for it. He argued that war had become intolerable and burdensome for the common man and was only a means of enrichment for the interested few. Through The Examiner Swift reached a position of independence, dignity and power among the Tories; a position rarely reached by a person without a title or office. Swift maintained his individuality among the great ministers and courtiers and enjoyed exercising the influence he had gained over them.[1]

The famous Journal to Stella, a series of letters written to Esther Johnson and Mrs. Dingley from September 1710 to June 1713, is a central source of information about men and events of this period. It gives us a minute inside story of the political developments of these years. It also reveals Swift's political zeal, party prejudices, personal resentments and preferences. Swift wrote it as a confidential document which was not intended for publication. It informs us of how Swift handled ministers and affairs of the Tory government, the secret lobbies he attended, and the tracts he wrote and got published anonymously. This series of sixty-five letters is a

1. The Journal to Stella contains much evidence in support of this.

mirror of the social and political events that occured while Swift was at the helm of politics in London. The Journal reveals every incident that passed behind the scene in great affairs of the State during the three years that it was written.

It is through the Journal that we come to know of his personal relations with the influential literary and political figures of this period like the Duke of Ormonde, the Earl of Oxford, Viscount Bolingbroke, Matthew Prior, Addison, Steele, Dr. Arbuthnot and etc. It also expresses his leanings towards the Tories and dislike of the Whigs. His references to the Whig leaders are very blunt and bitter since most of them were now regarded by him as his personal enemies. For Godolphin he vowed "revenge" (No. II), which took the form of a lampoon. He calls the Duke of Wharton as "the most universal villain", and "a false deceitful rascal" (No. XIV). Marlborough is described as "Covetous as Hell, and ambitious as the Prince of it" (No. XII). The Journal contains numerous severe comments on other leading figures of the Whig party, such as Robert Walpole and Duchess of Somerset, and the set back that it suffered due to the Treaty of Utrecht. It is also a minute record of the negotiations for this 'Peace' with France. Letter numbers XXX to XXXIII refer to Prior's efforts in bringing about the Peace of Utrecht, the pre-occupation of the Tory ministry with it and, the reactions of the Whigs against it.

In one letter (No. XXXV), Swift refers to his own role in these proceedings through his "large pamphlet", The Conduct of the Allies. According to Swift, this "large pamphlet" made the Tories argue for 'Peace' and, "never anything of that kind was of so great consequence, or made so many converts" (No. XXXVII). The last fourteen letters (from No. LII onwards) express Swift's genuine concern for the ministry because of the developing misunderstanding between the Earl of Oxford and Viscount Bolingbroke.

In spite of the best efforts of Oxford and Bolingbroke Swift only managed to get the insignificant Deanery of St. Patricks, Dublin. His appointment in Ireland (1713), the quarrel between Oxford and Bolingbroke, and the death of Queen Anne on Aug. 1, 1714, put an end to his active involvement in English politics. The Tory ministry's fall (1714) led to the return of the Whigs to power and accession of George I to the English throne. These events constitute a turning point in the history of the country as also in the life of Jonathan Swift. After returning to Ireland (Aug. 24, 1714) Swift kept quite for almost six years. In 1720, however, he was outraged by an act of the English Parliament designed to subordinate Ireland to the English legislation. He now advocated a boycott of English goods in his anonymous pamphlet A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture. The printer of this

pamphlet was prosecuted but later was/acquitted by the Jury. Swift, not willing to add to the hardship of the innocent publishers, abstained himself from writing provocative pamphlets for some time and devoted himself to the task of completing his great satire, Gulliver's Travels.

Gulliver's Travels was written over a period of five years, from 1721 to 1725.[1] This is why the book is full of allusions to political events of this period : Walpole's return to office (1721), Bolingbroke's return from exile (1723), ejection of Carteret from the Cabinet (1724), Walpole's supermacy (1725) and, Ireland's struggle against Wood's Half-pence (1722-1725). The work, roughly, refers to the events of the closing years of Queen Anne's reign and those of George I's time. In Gulliver's Travels, Swift alludes with anger, contempt and disgust to the corruptions and follies of the court, the King and his ministers and of the learned professions. The political allusions are mostly in the form of attacks on the Whigs and defence of his Tory friends. Many fictitious figures in the book represent real personages with most of the events drawn from their lives.

In the 'Voyage to Lilliput', Swift's description of the Lilliputian Court is roughly that of the British Court and

1. The plan of the Gulliver's Travels was drawn as early as the days of the Scriblerus Club.

politics. Likewise, the institutions of this land represent those of England. Gulliver says, that "some laws and customs in this empire" were a "justification" of those in his "dear Country". Swift attacks certain crimes and corrupt practices which were also found in England : a soulless political system governed by favouritism, flattery and malicious rivalry. Swift's references to the "violent faction at home" refer to the Whigs and Tories, who, in Lilliput, are called "Tramecksan"and "Slamecksan". They differentiate themselves by wearing "High-Heels" and "Low-Heels". The King who wears "Low-Heels",to a great extent,represents George I. The "Big-Endians" represent the Roman Catholics whereas the "Small-Endians" represent the Protestants of England. The King favoured the 'Low-Heels' and the"Small-Endians"due to which many of the "High-Heels" and "Big-Endians" had fled to Blefuscu. This is a direct reference to the Tories and Roman Catholics who had fled to France during George I's reign. The heir to the Lilliputian throne has some inclination towards the"High-Heels" since one of his heels is higher than the other. This clearly alludes to the Prince of Wales who was hobnobbing with the Tories while trying to be on good terms with the Whigs as well. The "potent enemy abroad" is Blefuscu which is at constant war with Lilliput. This alludes to France which for several years was at war with England. Gulliver,who, at this stage, represents

Bolingbroke, flies to Blefuscu as the latter had fled to France in 1714. Swift draws a close parallel between the two when Gulliver is charged of treasonable intercourse with the government of Blefuscu. A similar charge was made against Bolingbroke after the fall of the Tory Ministry and his flight to France.

While describing the skills of candidates for government employment in "rope dancing" Swift alludes to the political acrobatics of the ministers like Walpole. In Lilliput Flimnap is the best rope dancer as, in England, Walpole was the best at political intrigues and parliamentary tactics. The King's "cushion" which saves Flimnap from breaking his neck, refers to George I's mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, by whose influence Walpole was restored to power in 1721. The account of the silken threads - green, red and blue, that were awarded to the best acrobats stand for the English decorations — the Order of the Thistle, the Order of the Bath and the Order of the Garter, respectively.[1]

Swift alludes to Lord Carteret, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, through Redresal, who is as friendly and sympathetic towards Gulliver as the former was towards Swift. The incident of the Royal Palace fire by extinguishing which Gulliver made

1. Walpole was known as Sir Blue-String after he was awarded the Order of the Garter in 1726. Swift in A Poetry : A Rhapsody refers to this sarcastically.

the Queen of Lilliput his enemy refers to Swift's efforts for peace which were ignored by Queen Anne on account of her anger caused by the Tale of a Tub. Through this work, Swift believed that he had rendered a service to the English Crown by attacking the Catholics and Dissenters, but the drift of his satire was misunderstood and misinterpreted by Queen Anne's personal advisers. Bolgolam, Gulliver's malicious enemy and the naval chief of Lilliput represents Earl of Nottingham whose hostility towards Swift was well known.

The 'Voyage to Brobdingnag' has allusions of a general sort to the contemporary politics. The King of this kingdom, described as an ideal monarch, to some extent stands for William III and is a contrasting portrait of George I. In five interviews with the King, Gulliver ironically praises the government and constitution of England. The King is horrified to learn about the meanness and corruption of the English legislators, ministers, civil servants and lawyers. He says, "ignorance, idleness and vice" were the qualities of legislators and "laws" were "explained" by those who were "confounding and eluding them". These comments express the views of Swift's party. His critical references to the permanent mercenary army during peace and among free people, the financial system and the National Debt, are also based on the political ideology of the Tories.

The King's opinion that, "whoever could make two ears of corn or two blades of grass to grew upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, would ... do more essential service to his country than the whole race of politicians put together", reflects Swift's views expressed in his Drapier's Letters as well.[1] Swift's beggars in the Brobdingnagian capital represent those in Dublin, on whom Swift had much to say in his Irish tracts. This shows that while writing his second voyage Swift's thoughts were mostly occupied with the Irish conditions.

Swift's attacks are very bitter in the 'Voyage to Laputa'. By Laputa and Balnibarbi Swift meant the Court of George I and Ireland. The misery of Balnibarbi is that of Ireland, whose Lords stayed in Laputa leaving their lands behind as was done by the Irish Lords who preferred to reside in England. The citizens of Lindalino who had erected towers to defend themselves from the flying island of Laputa represent the Irish people who opposed, Wood's Half-pence. These towers stand for the Irish Privy Council, The Irish Grand Jury, the Irish Upper-House and the Irish Lower-House which, inspired by Swift, had opposed Wood's coinage.

Lagado, the city of political projectors, is a city of

1. In Drapier's Letters, Swift says, 'few politicians, with all their schemes, are half so useful members of a common wealth, as an honest farmer.'

decay like Dublin.[1] The methods of discovering plots and conspiracies against the government express Swift's concern over the treatment of his Tory friends by the Whig investigators. The Grand Academy of Lagado is an attempt to ridicule the Royal Society of London. In his descriptions of Langden Swift clearly alludes to England. The bulk of the citizens of this place, he tells us, were informers, accusers, false witnesses, and discoverers of non-existent plots — all in the pay-roll of the ministers.

In the fourth voyage Swift again has England in his mind. Chapter VI of this part is a ruthless satire on the political system of England and its abuses. His description of the evil minister as "a creature wholly exempt from joy and grief, love and hatred, pity and anger" who made use of no other "passions but a violent desire of wealth, power and titles" is none other than Walpole. His being a plaything in the hands of a mistress refers to the then prevalent view that the government of the country was being run by the unscruplous mistresses of the King and Walpole.

In brief, Gulliver's Travels is an exposition of the corruption and greed of politicians, the treachery and meanness of the Court favourites, the stupidity of men with titles, the

1. Critics have identified Lagado and other places with London and England as well.

vanity, pride and whimsical tempers of Kings, and the intrigues of the statesmen — all applicable to England.

As far as Irish question was concerned Swift always had his feelings for its people who were living in a state of suppression. His aim was to keep alive the spirit of Irish independence so that the English government may not succeed in totally destroying its liberty. Swift expressed these feelings while dealing with the issue of Wood's Half-pence, in the Drapier's Letters. Like his other Irish tracts, these letters are full of satire and political meaning which prove the power of Swift's pen as a successful campaigner and propagandist.

The Drapier's Letters were written in 1724, with the aim of arousing popular Irish opposition to a new coinage, granted by a Patent to William Wood by George I, in 1722. Wood had obtained this Patent by bribing the King's mistress, the Duchess of Kendal. It was likely to bring large profits to Wood at the expense of the already impoverished Irish People. Earlier, in 1723, the Irish Parliament had expressed its concern over this Patent. Swift entered into this controversy in the beginning of 1724 and succeeded in gathering immense public support for boycotting Wood's coinage.

The first letter, of this series, was addressed to the

'Tradesmen, Shop-keepers, Farmers and Country-People' of Ireland. Swift, through the fictitious Drapier, tells the people 'the Plain story of the Fact'; and proposes a plan of action for exposing the fraudulent method by which the Patent was obtained. He argues that it was no "treason" to refuse to accept Wood's "Filthy-Trash".

The second letter, addressed to Harding, the printer, tried to prove Wood's project as illegal. This letter was published after the report of the Inquiry-committee on the Patent was made public. Swift stressed the fact that the report of the Committee was biased in favour of Wood. The third letter[1] was an appeal to the gentry of Ireland to strongly protest and demonstrate against the Patent. The Fourth letter,[2] addressed to the People of Ireland, was published on Carteret's arrival in Ireland as its new Lord-Lieutenant. The printer, Harding, was tried and in spite of a strong-stand of William Whitshed, the Chief Justice, the Jury acquitted the printer. Earlier, Swift wrote Seasonable Advice to the Grand Jury in which he appealed to it to dismiss the case if it did not wish to be suspected of being

1. This letter gathered strong support and resulted in rumours, that Walpole had sworn to thrust the coinage down the Irish throats.
2. A prize of 300 pounds was announced for anyone discovering the author of this anonymously published letter. Though everyone knew the author very well, none came forward with the information.

in favour of the Patent. The rest of the three letters of this series are Swift's replies to various arguments that were being printed in England in favour of Wood's Patent. They are ironical attacks on Walpole who is described as the chief enemy of Ireland.

The effect of Swift's Drapier's Letters was so powerful that Carteret, realizing the dangerous consequences, recommended the withdrawal of the Patent to the English Government. By championing the Irish cause through the Drapier's Letters Swift had become the most distinguished and honoured 'Irish Patriot'.

Swift continued to influence movements for the betterment and upliftment of Ireland and its people as long as he could use his pen. His Modest Proposal is a repetition of his growing concern for Irish apathy towards the nation's miserable condition. In this pamphlet Swift's series on Irish affairs reached its climax. With bitter irony Swift here suggests, in a mood of utter despair, that the poverty of the Irish people could be relieved by the sale of their children as food for the rich. He pointed out that the suggestion was only for the kingdom of Ireland and it did not involve any danger of disobeying England, "for this kind of commodity will not bear exportation".

As seen above, Swift's prose writings contain his comments and observations on the contemporary political developments. Some time his observations are directly delivered and sometime indirectly and allegorically. His Journal to Stella is strictly a private document and therefore it has a frankness and directness that is not found elsewhere. However, the Journal was not meant for publication and, therefore, it will not be proper to rank it with his political writings like Gulliver's Travels and Drapier's Letters. The Drapier's Letters is concerned exclusively with the Irish affairs, rather, with only one single aspect of the Irish affairs, the implications of Wood's patent. But, Gulliver's Travels, as a political satire, is a work of a different kind. It is the most comprehensive and vigorous attack on the entire English political system which was, in Swift's view, corrupting every aspect of national life.

The information gathered from the above survey of Swift's prose works shall be utilized, as and when needed, in the next two chapters devoted to a detailed study of his political verse.

CHAPTER IV

Swift's Early Poems and Contemporary Politics, 1691 - 1714

This chapter and the following one are devoted to a study of the political elements in Swift's poetical works. His satirical poetry will be analysed in reference to the contemporary political events and developments. For the sake of convenience, Swift's poetical output is divided into two sections, one covering the poems written upto 1714, that is upto the time of the fall of the ministry of Harley and St. John and the second, the poems written after Swift's return to Ireland (in August 1714) upto the year 1737, which marks the end of his active literary career.

The poetic achievements of the first period can further be divided into distinct phases directly related to Swift's development into a potent politico-literary figure. During the first phase, which roughly covers three years (1691-93), Swift mostly composed Odes. As far as his politics and his development as a literary figure are concerned there is not much to talk about this phase. During the second phase, which extends from 1698 to 1710, Swift produced occasional pieces. Though not very remarkable as literary works, these poems do contain evidence of his growing satirical skill and also indicate his growing involvement in the politics of his

Country. The third phase, ranging from 1710 to 1714, is very crucial for it was then that Swift was completely involved in the politics of the time and had virtually become the spokesman of the Tory Ministry of Harley and St. John.

At the break of the Revolution of 1688 Swift crossed over to England and the ensuing period of the next ten years was spent in a way that helped him develop his creative skills. He began as a writer of Odes, which, as already said, are insignificant politically except for that they provide some idea of what Swift was going to be in the coming years. These Odes are written in praise of those who were admired by him, and contain attacks of a general sort on the evils and abuses present in the society. His Odes exhibit that characteristic personal element which was to stay with him for ever. He began, as these Odes show, as a supporter of Whig policies, that is, as an admirer of William III and the Revolution of 1688, and an enemy of France, with which England was at War.

Ode to the King On his Irish Expedition and, Ode to King William, On His Successes in Ireland, both written in 1690-91, are full of tributes to and adoration of William III. While loading him with complimentary terms as a "Parent of Valour and of Fame", "our happy Prince", "Bold Romantick Knight", "Mighty Monarch", etc, Swift celebrated his victories

in the Battle of Boyne and congrulated him on his success in handling the Irish rebellion. Swift celebrates William's triumph over his enemies — France, James II, Pope and the Roman Catholics — who had tried to re-establish their influence in Ireland and England.

The following extracts from these two Odes show what William III meant to Swift :

> He sought Her out in Fight,
> And like a Bold Romantick Knight
> Rescu'd Her from the Giant's Fort:
> .....
> That Tyrant-Guard on Peace,
> Who watch Her like a Prey,
> And keep Her for a Sacrifice,
> .....
> Our Prince has charm'd its many hundred Eyes;
> Has lull'd the Monster in a Deep
>
> (Ode to the King, ll. 36-38, 73-79)

In the other Ode Swift praises William III as a saviour of England :

> Britannia stript from her sole Guard the Laws,
> Ready to fall Rome's bloody Sacrifice;
> You strait stept in, and from the Monster's Jaws
> Did bravely snatch the lovely helpless Prize.
>
> (Ode to King William, ll. 21-24)

Swift also shows his hostility to James II by openly praising the Revolution of 1688. In his attacks he describes Louis XIV

of France as a "Restless Tyrant" and a bastard.[1]

Ode to Sir William Temple (1692) and, Sir W[illiam] T[emple]'s Late Illness and Recovery (1693), are panegyrics on Swift's patron in London. Among other things, he praises Temple for bringing "Peace" to England "at a Cheaper Rate" without "the usual bloody Scar".

> ... you by Peace,
> You bought it at a cheaper Rate;
> Nor has it left the usual bloody Scar,
> To shew it cost its Price in War,
>
> (Ode to Sir William Temple, ll. 72-75)

This is an allusion to Temple's diplomatic achievements, especially to his role in bringing about the Treaty of Westminister (1674) and the Tripple Alliance (1688). In the poem Swift also attacks the dirty tricks and intrigues of the politicians of Temple's days who had been instrumental in depriving him of his Court position.

In 1692, Swift wrote Ode to Dr. William Sancroft, in which he attacked the Court favourites who had brought about the suspension of 'divine' Sancroft,[2] the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, for refusing the oath of allegiance to William and

1. In Ode to the King Swift refers to this, saying that Louis XIV was born 'From the Worst Excrements of Earth;' (l. 127).
2. Sancroft also felt unhappy over the increasing interference of the State in Church affairs. Swift's poem shows that even at so early a stage he believed in the independence of the Church.

Mary. In the last stanza of this Ode Swift refers critically to the existing conditions of religion and Church, thereby exhibiting his strong High Church leanings and dislike of the self-styled "reformers" of the Anglican Church.

During the second phase (1698-1710), Swift gradually attained something of a reputation, both as a wit and as a writer on public affairs. For the best part of this period he was favourably inclined towards the Whigs and wrote pamphlets in support of their policies. The poems of this period belong to the category of occasional verse. He regarded himself as a good Whig, like most of the post-Restoration Anglo-Irish people, and his training under William Temple further confirmed him in his political principles of a thoroughly Whiggish cast. Throughout this period he made no secret of the fact that he was seeking his own advancement in the Church and that he hoped to secure it through the favour of the powerful Whigs like Lord Somers.[1] By 1701 Swift had become well acquainted with the prominent Whig leaders and writers like the Earl of Somers, the Earl of Halifax, Bishop Burnet, Addison and Steele.

The poetry of the period under consideration reflects Swift's personal dislikes for those who had placed hurdles

1. In 1701 Swift published his Contests and Dissensions, a pamphlet which was meant to be a warning to the Tories and, also, a presentation of the contemporary situation from the Whig point of view. Swift defended Lord Somers in this pamphlet. Later, he also dedicated the Tale of a Tub to him.

between him and his Church preferment. It strongly displays Swift's personal bias, though not always related to the political point of view. The Problem and The Discovery, both written in 1699, are typical illustrations of this attitude. During the summer of 1699, Swift had accompanied Lord Berkeley to Dublin, acting both as his Secretary and Chaplain. He felt humiliated, when the latter post was given to Arthur Bushe, for Swift wanted to continue holding both these offices. This was a sufficient reason for him to make him hate Bushe. He developed further dislike for Bushe when, as Swift believed, Dr. John Bolton was appointed as the Dean of Dersy. This was the office that Swift had long desired for himself. The Discovery, accordingly, is a satire (quite a mild one) both on Bushe and Bolton with some side glances directed towards Berkeley. In The Problem the chief target of Swift's satire is supposed to be Berkeley but it seems more probable that here Swift was concerned more with Henry Sidney, the Earl of Romney, who had promised to plead to the King for a preferment for Swift at Canterbury or Westminister, but had gone no further in the matter. Both these poems have no particular political significance and reflect no partisan attitude but they do reveal Swift's life-long tendency of over-reacting to personal affronts. They are important as they contain traces of that injured pride of his which lurks behind all his great satires.

Ballad on the Game of Traffick, a product of 1702, is an attack on John Grubham Howe, a knavish and unprincipled self-seeking politician. Howe had been an active Whig but from 1692 onwards was reckoned as a strong Tory. The Description of a Salamander (1705), is a satire on Lord Cutts, a distinguished soldier and Commander-in-Chief of the English army in Ireland. It is difficult to explain and find excuse for Swift's attacks on him. Lord Cutts must have given some offence to Swift but its exact nature is not known. The comments that Swift passes on Cutts are quite offensive in nature and can not be taken at their face value. Even his heroic defiance of the enemy fire in the Battle of Boyne is ridiculed by Swift who belittles his performance by calling him a "Slamander", an insect which lives in fire.

In The History of Vanburg's House (1706), although Swift makes fun of Vanburgh, the dramatist-cum-architect, his real target seems to be the Duke of Marlborough who is accused of having shown his want of taste in choosing Vanburgh as an architect for his castle at Blenheim. The poem, though written in a light-hearted vein is, however, significant as it indirectly, through its ridicule of the great Whig leader, tells us of Swift's disenchantment with the party he was supporting hitherto. A Famous Prediction of Merlin (1709), is a more open attack on Marlborough and it also contains adverse comments

on the union between Scotland and England. Similar comments are presented again in Verses on the Union (1707), where Swift disapprovingly refers to the bundling up of "Thistles" with the "Rose" implying that "Thistles" (Scotland) will only spoil the beauty (that is, the prosperity) of the "Roses" (England). This poem expresses Swift's dislike for Scotland and its people in stronger terms than used in the Odes.[1]

By 1710 Swift had proved himself to be an accomplished writer of informal verse of a witty and ironical type. His arrival in London on September 7, 1710, placed him on the threshold of the most important and dramatic phase of his career as a politico-literary figure. Being convinced by the Tories, through Harley, that their party was the real church party and having been promised a favourable decision in respect of the first fruits,[2] Swift readily joined hands with them. He now spoke on their behalf, defending their policies and attacking the Whigs and the ministry they had lately dominated. Swift now gradually came closerand still closer to the Tories. Much of his social, political and literary activity of this period (1710-1714) is described by him in the pages of the Journal to Stella. His other correspondence, his prose and verse of this

1. Ode to the King (Stanza V), and, Ode to Mr. Congreve (line 83).
2. As before, the Irish Bishops had again empowered Swift to act on their behalf for the first-fruits. Swift had unsuccessfully negotiated with the Whigs on this issue. Swift acting on behalf of the church of Ireland, also tried, to procure for it certain financial benefits similar to those recently bestowed on the English Church.

period help us to follow him not only in act but, to a large degree, in motives also. Whatever he wrote at this stage was by and large inspired by the programmes and policies of the Tory party. Swift's alliance with the Tories and the disapproval of the Whigs are quite understandable in view of his tendency to make the interests of the Church the basis of his political support.

Swift had an irrepressible instinct for the lampoon and scurrilous pamphleteering. Thus, while defending the Tories he came down very severely on Godolphin, Marlborough, Wharton, Nottingham and the Duchess of Somerset in his verse satires. Shortly after his arrival in London, he attacked Godolphin, the late Whig minister, for having disappointed him in the matter of the grant of the first-fruits to the Irish clergy. Writing to Archbishop King,[1] Swift relates an interview he had with Godolphin regarding this matter. Swift was made to understand that as a first condition he must get the consent of the Irish Clergy in respect of the repeal of the Test-Act in Ireland. Again describing another interview with Godolphin to the same person Swift wrote, "a reception very unexpected ... altogether short, dry, and morose".[2] Swift felt deeply offended and never forgave Godolphin for this act. Besides these

1. The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, ed. F. Elrington Ball, i. 92 (Letter of June 10, 1708).
2. Correspondence, i. 194 (Letter of September 9, 1710).

personal affronts, Godolphin had also invited Swift's wrath by supporting the Occasional Conformity Bill which was not to the liking of the High Churchmen. Thus, The Virtues of Sid Hamet the Magician's Rod (1710),[1] was Swift's "revenge" against Godolphin, which he had vowed in his letter.[2]

On August 8, 1710, Godolphin was stripped off of all his power and ordered to break his staff of office by an Order of the Queen. Swift took advantage of this occasion and published this poem lampooning Godolphin severely. He nick-named him as "Sid Hamet", a phrase borrowed from Don Quixote. Swift made fun of Godolphin by drawing a comparison between his "Rod" (Staff of Office) with the Staff of Moses and the "broomstick" of the Witches. While Moses' Staff had divine qualities in it, Godolphin's "Rod" had the quality of divining sources of wealth:

> As ready was the Wand of Sid
> To bend where Golden Mines were hid;
> In Scottish Hills found precious Ore,
> Where none e'er look'd for it before;
> .....
> SID's Rod was slender, white, and tall,
> Which oft he us'd to fish withal:
>
> (ll. 27-30, 43-44)

Allusion here is to Godolphin's supposed mercenary motives in

1. For further references to this poem see the Journal to Stella, letters dated 26 and 29 Sept., 1,4,14,15 and 20 Oct., 8,10 and 30 Nov. and 14 Dec., 1710.
2. Mentioning Godolphin's stand, Swift wrote to Stella,'I am almost vowing revenge' (Journal to Stella, letter dated September 9, 1710).

bringing about the union of Scotland and England.

Swift also compares this "Rod" with the "Rod of Hermes", a touch of which could bring mortals to sleep. Swift suggests that Godolphin used his "rod" in a similar way to make the members of Parliament go to sleep so that he could implement his nefarious schemes unhindered. Further, Godolphin

> Could scatter Opium full as well,
> And drive as many Souls to Hell.
>
> (ll. 41-42)

Swift laughingly recounts how Godolphin's "divine ... rod" was broken by the Queen's Order and how, as a necessary consequence of it, he lost the support of his fair-weather friends :

> But when th'enchanted Rod was broke,
> They vanish'd in a stinking Smoak.
>
> (ll. 57-58)

Swift attacks Godolphin for his abuse of power and of public money in purchasing the political support for himself, a support which he lost along with his office.

In 1711 Swift wrote another lampoon, **The W[in]ds[o]r Prophecy**, which was on the Duchess of Somerset. At this time the Duchess, an active supporter of the Whigs, was a favourite with Queen Anne. This poem is to be considered in the context

of the struggle for and against peace with France. Swift's Tory friends wished to see the Duchess removed from the Court and deprived of her hold on the Queen. They wanted to replace her by Lady Masham.[1] In this poem Swift strove to prove that the Duchess was unworthy of the favours she was enjoying. The poem also refers to the Earl of Nottingham as a "Daventry Bird" and Marlborough as a "Harpy" for his insatiable greed. It also alludes to the palace intrigues which according to Swift and his friends were due to the pernicious influence of the Duchess over Queen Anne :

> And dear Englond, if ought I understond,
> Beware of Carrots from Northumberlond[2]
> Carrots sown Thyn a deep root may get,
> If so be they are in Sommer set :
> .....
> Root out these Carrots, O Thou, whose Name
> Is backwards and forwards always the same;[3]
> .....
> And Englond wouldst thou be happy still,
> Burry those Carrots under a Hill.
>
> (ll. 15-26)

In 1711 Swift, using the 'War and Peace' controversy between the Whigs and Tories as a background wrote An Excellent New Song ... The Intended Speech, to attack the Tory Lord, Earl of Nottingham, for his siding with the Whigs

1. She gradually supplanted the Duchess and became an intermediary between the Queen and the Tories. Swift regarded Lady Masham with great regard.
2. 'Carrots from Northumberlond' - the reference is to the Duchess of Somerset, who had red hair.
3. 'Whose Name ... the same', - this refers to Queen Anne, often called 'Anna', as by Pope in the Rape of the Lock:
   > Here thou, great Anna, whom three realms obey,
   > Dost sometime counsel take and sometime tea.
   > (Canto III, ll. 7-8)

on this issue. Writing to Stella about this he mentioned: "Lord Treasurer Oxford was hinting as if [he] wished a ballad was made on him [Nottingham] , and I will get up one against tomorrow".[1] The poem was accordingly composed. The Whigs had planned to make Nottingham deliver a speech in the House of Lords in support of the continuation of War with France. *Here, Swift ridicules Nottingham's intentions and* attacks him for being an opportunist, who only supported the Tories in the hope of gaining favours for himself and his relations and now, having lost that hope, was courting the Whigs :

> I answer; The Tories were in my good Graces,
> Till all my Relations were put into Places.
> .....
> Since the Tories have thus disappointed my Hopes,
> And will neither regard my Figures nor Tropes;
> I'll Speech against Peace while Dismal's my Name;[2]
> And be a true Whig, while I am Not in game.
> (11. 23-24, 51-54)

In another letter to Stella, Swift writes, "Lord Nottingham, a famous Tory and speech-maker, is gone over to the Whig side".[3] Swift, along with his Tory patrons, was very much critical of Nottingham's hobnobbing with the Whigs some of whom, like John Tolland, were anti-monarchists besides being anti-Tory. As said earlier, Nottingham had transferred his

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1. Journal to Stella, Dec. 5, 1711.
2. Nottingham was so nicknamed because of his swarthy complexion.
3. Journal to Stella, Dec. 5, 1711.

services to the Whigs who, in return, had promised to support the Occasional Conformity Bill that was lying pending for several years.

Nottingham figures again in another poem of Swift, Toland's Invitation to Dismal .... (1712). This poem describes an annual dinner hosted by the Calves' Head Club[1] and attended by prominent Whigs and republicans. While attacking Nottingham, Swift also mentions the names of a number of prominent Whigs who attended this function. Swift's list includes Godolphin, John Smith, Henry Boyle, Charles Montague, Lord Somers,[2] Portland, Cleveland, Bolton, Henry Clinton, Charles Spencer, Edward Russell, Richard Hampden, Robert Walpole, Duke of Wharton,[3] and etc. This poem serves as an example of Swift's deliberate refusal to distinguish between the Whigs and the republicans although he knew that the former firmly believed in Constitutional Monarchy.

In the Fable of the Widow and her Cat (1712), Swift again attacks Marlborough, who is described as the favourite "Cat" of the "Widow", i.e. the Queen. Godolphin, Marlborough's friend, is presented as a "Fox". In this lampoon, Swift also

1. This Club celebrated the execution of Charles I on the 30th of Jan. every year, the date on which Charles I was executed. A Calve's head symbolizing Charles I formed the main part of the menu.
2. A change in Swift's politics is to be noted; in 1701 he had defended Somers and other Whigs in his Contests and Dissensions. Swift had also won Charles Montague's friendship through this pamphlet.
3. Swift again attacked Wharton in A Short Character of His Excellency Thomas Earl of Wharton ..., where he is described as 'a Presbyterian in politics, and an Atheist in Religion; but he chuseth at present to whore with a Papist.'

refers to the dismissal of Marlborough from all his positions through the persistent efforts of the Tory ministers on December 30, 1711. Swift, here, refers to Marlborough's policies, which in the eyes of his political opponents were based on self-interest and were detrimental to the Crown and the country alike. The poem also contains the "Widow's" confession, who at long last comes to realize the outrages committed by the "perfidious... Cat" and orders her "Towzer" (the Parliament) to punish it. Though this poem was anonymously published still Swift was generally suspected to be its author.[1]

Swift's next attack on Marlborough was The Fable of Midas (1712), written to celebrate the Duke's final removal from the places he was still holding. Here he compares him with Midas, the legendary greedy King of Phrygia. Swift calls Marlborough a "British Midas" and accuses him of having ammassed wealth through corrupt practices by selling commissions and appointments in the army as well as by lending money to the government on interest.[2]

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1. Whig authors countered this lampoon. Abel Boyer in his Political State of Great Britain for Jan 1711/12, reprints this poem with a prefatory note : 'One of the writers of the Examiner, who had constantly pursued the Duke with merciless Fury, and profligate Malice, did on this occasion publish the following FABLE OF THE WIDOW AND HER CAT. Some of the replies to this poem were : 'When the Cat's away, the Mice may Play; A Fable, Humbly inscribed to Dr. Swift', The Fable of the Shepherd and his Dog and, The Fable of the House-wife and her Cock.
2. Earlier, in the Examiner, number 28, Feb. 1-8, 1710/11, Swift had described Marlborough's avarice, equating him with Marcus Crassus, a Roman character famous for his greed.

What else by Perquisites are meant,
By Pensions, Bribes, and three per Cent ?
By Places and Commissions sold,
And turning Dung it self to Gold?

(ll. 45-48)

In the conclusion of the poem, Swift tells how Marlborough lost his "golden touch" on his removal from office after having been found guilty of abuse of power by a Parliamentary Commission. And now -

... Midas now neglected stands,
With Asses Ears, and dirty Hands.

(ll. 81-82)

Continuation of war with France was a very important issue of these days.[1] The Tories were for Peace while the Whigs were against it. Swift had very well understood the "Whig" character of the War and the nation's weariness of it. He had no doubt that the Tories were right in being determined to bring it to an end. Moreover, Swift had always stood for Peace. In his Ode to Sir William Temple Swift had denounced 'War' —

War! that mad Game, the World so loves to play,
And for it does so dearly pay.

(ll. 76-77)

1. This war had became a very prolonged affair in spite of many victories of England and her allies. The Englishmen had now started questioning the entire conduct of the war as it had impoverished the nation.

About "Peace" he had said :

> Only the Laurel got by Peace.
> No thunder e'er can blast.
>
> (11. 81-82)

In 1712 Swift wrote Peace and Dunkrik, referring to the issue of 'Peace' with France. In this poem while arguing for "Peace", Swift attacks the Whig leaders who were arguing against it. He attacks Godolphin, Wharton, Nottingham, Sunderland, and other Whigs who were opposing the Tory efforts towards the cessation of hostilities. He criticizes these leaders for putting the Dutch interests above those of their own country and says ——

> Spight of Dutch Friends[1] and English Foes,
> Poor Britain shall have Peace at last;
>
> (11. 1-2)

Swift argued for 'Peace' so that England may be relieved of the burden of war and may attend to its internal problems.

Swift had great hopes from and respect for Harley, whom he has consistently praised in his verses. In 1711, he expressed his concern over Harley's health in To Mr. Harleyes Surgeon, after he was seriously injured in Marquis Guiscard's murderous assault on him. In this poem Swift portrays Harley as an important and indispensable statesman for England and for the

1. 'Dutch Friends' is of course an ironical expression. Swift's description of the unchristian conduct of a Dutch Captain in the third part of Gulliver's Travels is also related to his view of the 'Conduct' of the 'allies' like Holland during this war.

continent as he alone could establish peace in Europe.

> On British Europes safety lyes,
> And Britain's lost if Harly dyes.
>
> (ll. 2-3)

In 1712 Swift wrote Atlas as another tribute to Harley. Here he equates him with "Atlas" for carryling all the burden of the administration upon his shoulders, an act that was good neither for him, nor for the Tory party, nor for the Nation.[1] Swift appeals to Harley to share his burden with the other Tory leaders —

> Suppose their Atlas ne'er so wise,
> Yet when the Weight of Kingdoms lyes
> Too long upon his single Shoulders
> He must sink down, or find Up-holders
>
> (ll. 19-22)

This poem is also an indirect reference to the growing misunderstanding between Oxford and Bolingbroke which ultimately led to the fall of the Tory Ministry after the death of Queen Anne. The strong Tory government of 1710 had scarcely been formed before differences arose between its two chief leaders, Oxford and Bolingbroke. These dissensions continued to grow in spite of the efforts of Swift, who out of sheer disgust retired to Letcombe in June 1714, where he wrote his

1. Swift is more explicit on this issue in his letter to Stella, dated March 4, 1712. About Harley he writes; he 'cannot do all himself, and will not employ others; which is his great fault'.

comments upon this situation in a pamphlet.[1] According to Swift's Memoirs relating to that Change in the Queen's Ministry, the differences between Oxford and Bolingbroke were accentuated after Guiscard's attempt upon Harley's life in March 1711. St. John affected to believe that the blow was intended for him and not for Harley who, however, had got all the suffering and the credit.

Poems written in 1713 and 1714 besides reflecting Swift's concern for the Tory infighting, also contain references to his personal enemies and to the position that he had as a favourite of the Tory ministers. Part of the Seventh Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated (1713), is addressed to Oxford and contains an account of Swift's very personal and informal relations with Harley who is still hailed as "the Nation's great Support". This friendliness is at the base of this poem:

> MY LORD, who (if a Man may say't)
> Loves Mischief better than his Meat,
> Was now dispos'd to crack a Jest;
> .....
> Lewis his Patron's Humour knows;
> Away up on his Errand goes,
> And quickly did the Matter sift,
> Found out that it was Dr. S[wif]t:
>
> (ll. 13-15, 23-26)

1. 'Some Free Thoughts upon the Present State of Affairs', Prose Works, ed. T. Scott, IV. 391-415.

Swift also mentions his extreme hatred for the Duke of Wharton and the blows that he (Swift) had given to the Whigs :

> ... Hated Wh[arto]n like a Toad;
> Had giv'n the Faction many a Wound,
>
> (11. 36-37)

In the later half of the poem Swift states his often repeated complaint against the Tory ministry for not recalling him from Ireland. He was still very anxious to secure a Church preferment in England instead of the one that he held in Ireland.

In 1714 Swift again expressed his concern for the growing infighting between the Tory leaders in The Faggot. Swift strove hard to plug the breach between Oxford and Bolingbroke but without any success. In the last phase of their administration, according to Swift "nothing else but a scene of murmuring and discontent, quarrell and misunderstanding, animosity and hatred", prevailed and the two leaders had no one left but Swift as a common friend. This poem was inspired by a hint in a letter sent to Swift by the Duchess of Ormonde in which She had written, "I hope our friends will ... remember the story of the Arrows, that were very easily broken singly, but when tied together, no strength of man could bent them".[1]

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1. Correspondence, ii. 133.

Here, in this poem, Swift strongly disapproves of this unfortunate and stupid quarrel and argues that such a state of affairs was inexorably leading the Tory party to a catastrophe — a prediction which came true after the death of Queen Anne. Swift refers to the Whigs who were jubiliant over these developments whereas the Queen and the Tories were feeling distressed by it. Swift, thus, advises the Tory leaders to bury the hatchet and come together like the "Faggots" of a bundle and thus render themselves unbreakable. He tells them that they —

> Should come and make the Clatt'ring cease;
> Which now disturbs the Queen and Court,
> And gives the Whigs and Rabble Sport.
> .....
> You'll then defy the strongest Whig,
> With both his Hands to bend a Twig,
> Though with united Strength they all pull,
> From Sommers down to Craigs and Walpole.
>
> (11. 24-26, 49-52)

In 1714, Swift wrote Horace, Part of the Sixth Satire of the Second Book, a poem which is a reminiscence of his experiences while he was close to the Tories. The poem again alludes to his relationship with Oxford who is described as being desirous of enjoying the company of the author as often as he possibly could. It also refers to Oxford's habit of talking to him confidentially in the presence of others, thereby giving an impression that his opinion was being sought on some

serious administrative or political matter. Harley showed other favours too that indicated utmost intimacy :

> Since HARLEY bid me first attend,
> And chose me for an humble Friend.
> Would take me in his Coach to chat,
> And question me of this and that;
>
> (11. 65-68)

according to him
But the reality/was just the opposite for Oxford never talked serious business with Swift. Their discussions were always non-political in nature : about such things as the new publications of Pope, Gay, and Parnell. However, the outward guestures made the people believe that Swift had a great influence over the Tory Ministers and this made them pester him with all kinds of requests related to the recommendation of their cases to the ministers:

> I get a Whisper, and withdraw,
> When twenty Fools I never saw
> Come with Petitions fairly pen'd,
> Desiring I would stand their Friend.
> This, humbly offers me his Case...
> That, begs my Interest for a Place ...
> A hundred other Men's Affairs
> Like Bees, are humming in my Ears.
> .....
> My Lord and he are grown so great,
> Always together, tete a tete.
>
> (11. 43-50, 85-86)

Swift, here categorically denies that he exercised any influence

over the Tory ministers.[1]

In 1714 Swift composed The Author Upon Himself, a poem attacking those persons who had caused personal harm to him and had sought his undoing. While repeating his disappointment on being sent to Ireland, he holds the Duchess of Somerset and the Archbishop of York, Dr. John Sharp, as being responsible for that. Earlier, Duchess of Somerset was attacked by Swift in Windsor Prophecy and Dr. John Sharp had held Swift unfit for Church preferment because of his authorship of the Tale of a Tub. He attacks the Duchess saying that she "From her red Locks her Mouth with Venom Fills", and Dr. Sharp is called, "A Crazy Prelate, and a Royal Prude". Both these persons, Swift says, were responsible for poisoning the Queen against him and, thus, prevented her from giving him Church preferment in England.

In the same poem, Swift again refers to the intimacy he had with Oxford and Bolingbroke, both of whom had great confidence in him :

> In Favour grows with Ministers of State;
> Admitted private, when Superiors wait:
> And, Harley, not asham'd his Choice to own,
> Takes him to Windsor in his Coach, alone.
> At Windsor S[wift] no sooner can appear,
> But, St. John comes and whispers in his Ear;
> (ll. 29-34)

1. Swift's denial is wrong for in the pages of the Journal to Stella, from his own accounts, it is very much clear that the Tory ministers valued him a lot and he did have great influence over them. His denial is not meant to be taken seriously.

The poem also has a few lines dealing with Swift's futile efforts in respect of bringing about a reconciliation between Oxford and Bolingbroke :

> By Faction tir'd, with Grief he waits a while,
> His great contending Friends to reconcile.
> Performs what Friendship, Justice, Truth requires:
> What could he more, but decently retire ?
>
> (ll. 71-74)

Swift's next poem, Horace, Book II, Ode I (1714) describes his quarrel with Richard Steele, who used to be a great friend of his.[1] Politics drew the two wits into a fierce paper war, with both defending their respective parties in their respective journals, The Examiner and The Guardian. The poem alludes to Steele's much awaited pamphlet, The Crisis, against which Swift was to issue, later, his devastating rejoinder : The Public Spirit of the Whigs. Here, in this poem, Swift ridicules Steele's delayed pamphlet and predicts that its contents will be neither new nor startling. The pamphlet will be a repetition of what Steele and other Whig writers had been saying all along. Swift also makes fun of Steele's interest in astrology, magic and alchemy. He laughs at his admirers and at his role as member of Parliament and, finally, lumps him together with Whig writers like, Tom D'Urfey,

1. Swift and Steele were good friends in the past when he had not started supporting the Tories.

Ambrose Philips and John Dennis.

To sum up, much of Swift's poetical output of this period is more concerned with personalities than with policies. His attacks are mainly directed against the Whig leaders like Marlborough, Godolphin, Wharton, Nottingham and the Duchess of Somerset. But his concern for the Tory interests and policies is also there. There is no doubt that he was genuinely interested in protecting the Tory ministry against the attacks of the opponents as well as in preventing and removing internal dissensions. His poems reflect his firm belief in the Revolution of 1688 and the established Church as well as his personal interests. These poems also show how Swift began as a good Whig and due to personal reasons and religious beliefs he found it expedient to join the Tory Party, but not as its servile or hired scribbler, but as its chief spokesman and adviser and mentor of its leaders.

CHAPTER V

Swift's Later Poems and Contemporary Politics, 1715 - 1737

The poems written during the second period (1715-37) have a special significance about them as, taken together, they constitute a strong condemnation of the Whig Party in power, its leaders and policies. In some of these poems Swift also emerges as the most outspoken champion of the Irish people. At the same time these poems also show him as a disgruntled and frustrated man who is harbouring and nursing personal grouse and as a man of principle and conviction ready to fight for a laudable cause.

Queen Anne's death on August 1, 1714, the subsequent fall of the Tories leading to the flight of Ormonde and Bolingbroke, and Oxford's impeachment — all combined to create an unpleasant situation for Swift. Thus, dejected at heart, he returned to Ireland shrinking from a world now in complete possession of the enemy (the Whigs). He now withdrew himself from active politics for about five years and got busy with the church affairs and literary work.

While in Ireland, Swift wrote *In Sickness* (1714) expressing his despondency at the turn of the political events, his sickness at heart on parting from his Tory friends and being assailed in lampoons.[1] This poem was occasioned by a

1. The Whig writers directed a number of lampoons against him after the fall of the Tory Ministry. Some of the prominent ones were : - *An Hue and Cry after Dr. S[wif]t*, *A further Hue and Cry after Dr. S[wif]t*, and *Essays Divine, Moral, and Political ... by the Author of the Tale of a Tub*.

letter from Arbuthnot informing him about the persecution of his political friends in England.[1] Swift explains his sickness to be more mental than physical caused by the political developments in England and his concern for his Tory friends.

In a low-spirited but dignified mood Swift wrote, in 1716, To The Earl of Oxford, expressing his concern for him and other friends. The new Whig Parliament, with George I as the King, had appointed a Committee to inquire into the Jacobite intrigues[2] against the Government. As a result of this Oxford was sent to the Tower and, out of fear, Bolingbroke and Ormonde had fled to France. Addressing this poem to Oxford, Swift pays compliments to him on his virtuous conduct and dignified behaviour, particularly for his refusal to bow to the whims of the mob :

> VIRTUE repuls't, yet knows not to repine;
> But shall with unattained Honour shine;
> Nor stoops to take the Staff, nor lays it down,
> Just as the Rabble please to smile or frown.
>
> (ll. 7-10)

This poem is a reiteration of Swift's political principles and his personal attachment to his friends. Swift had a genuine regard for Oxford whom he considered as a sincere friend and true patriot.

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1. Correspondence, ii, 245.
2. The Jacobites considered the Young Pretender (Son of James II) as the lawful king of England and were trying to bring him back.

By 1720 Swift's restless energy started re-asserting itself and he could no more remain a silent spectator of the miseries and hardships of Ireland which had always occupied his thoughts and feelings. He now emerged once again on the political scene, but in a different way. In this year Ireland witnessed three important events : the publication of Swift's all important political pamphlet, Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture,[1] the South-Sea Scandal (which affected the English more than the Irish people) and, English efforts to establish the National Bank in Ireland. Swift's pamphlet is an attack on the Whig government which is held responsible for the deplorable condition of the Irish. This pamphlet resulted in an outcry of the Whigs and the government characterized it as seditious. Edward Waters, the printer, was prosecuted but he was exonerated by the Jury. William Whitshed, the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, had refused to accept this verdict. Still, the matter was settled in favour of Waters by the new Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the Duke of Grafton.

Swift attacked and made fun of William Whitshed in An Excellent New Song on a Seditious Pamphlet (1720), on the humiliation suffered by him in Edward Waters' case. Swift also attacked the English government for its stand that the Pamphlet

1. This pamphlet is an attack on the Monopoly Act passed in the reign of William III, prohibiting export of woolen goods from Ireland except to England and Wales. This had a disastrous effect on the Irish manufacturers and its economy. The pamphlet was published anonymously and it champions Irish interests and attacks the English government for ignoring Irish welfare to further the interests of the English manufacturers.

was creating disaffection in the Irish hearts against the English government. Using his favourite weapon of irony, Swift indirectly appeals to the Irish people for a greater use of Irish products :

> ... now hear what the Law says,
> Whoe'er will not wear them, is not the King's
> Lover.
> Tho' a Printer and Dean
> Seditiously mean
> Our true Irish Hearts from old England to wean;
> We'll buy English Silks for our Wives and our
> Daughters,
>
> (11. 3-9)

In 1721 he attacked Godfrey Boate, a Judge of the King's Bench, who had sided with Whitshed in this trial, in another poem, A quibbling Elegy. Later on, Swift attacked Whitshed in some other poems also.[1]

The Run upon the Bankers and The Bubble, both of 1720, deal with the scandalous affairs of the South-Sea Company and its unscrupulous directors. In the first poem Swift attacks the directors of this company and forecasts their discomfiture on the Day of Judgement. In the second he refers to them as —

> Oh, may some Western Tempest sweep
> These Locusts whom our Fruits have fed,
> That Plague, Directors, to the Deep,
> Driv'n from the South-Sea to the Red.
>
> (11. 205-8)

1. Such as : Whitshed's Moto on his Coach (1724) Verses on the Upright Judge (1724) and Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift (1731).

Swift directs his attacks more on the Whig government because of a general belief that it was shielding the important men involved in this scandal.[1]

Horace, Book IV, Ode IX (1720) was addressed to Dr. William King[2] who had become a great admirer of Swift due to the latter's patriotic zeal for Ireland. This poem opposes the establishment of a National Bank in Ireland because Swift, like Dr. King and others had suspected that such a move was to benefit the Whig moneyed class of England. Related to the same subject was The Bank thrown down (1721), in which Swift thanked the Irish Parliament for rejecting this proposal :

> But Thanks to the HOUSE, the Projectors look blank
> And Thanks to the MEMBERS that kickt down the BANK.
>
> (ll. 9-10)

This poem also has some satirical references to the South-Sea Project :

> Those that dropt in the South-Sea discover'd this Plank,
> By which they might Swimmingly land on a BANK.
>
> (ll. 49-50)

---

1. Walpole was nick-named, 'Screen Master' for he had been very active in protecting some of the directors of the company.
2. Earlier Archbishop King had developed a coolness towards Swift on his joining the Tory Party while on his mission for the grant of the first-Fruits. But Swift's pamphlet on Irish Manufacture brought him close to Dr. King once again.

As a result of the South-Sea Scandal and the English legislations on the Irish manufactures, the Irish weaving industry and its economy were severely crippled. This had led to extreme poverty, unemployment and suffering of the Irish People. Efforts were made to raise funds for relief purposes and Hamlet was staged to further this noble cause. Both Sheridan and Swift wrote, respectively, an a prologue and epilogue for this occasion. Swift's Epilogue at the Theatre-Royal (1721) is an appeal to the Irish leaders to use Irish products, chiefly linen and that too woolen. This epilogue is reminiscent of his pamphlet on the Use of Irish Manufacture — "We'll dress in Manufactures, made at home". It is also an expression of his feelings as an Irish patriot as he had now definitely put himself in the ranks of the Irish people.

Swift could never forgive or forget those who had either affended him or had incurred his hostility. In 1722 his attack on the Duke of Marlborough[1] in A Satirical Elegy on the Death of a Late Famous General serves as an example of this characteristic . This poem was occasioned by the death of the famous General on June 16, 1722. This severe invective reflects Swift's intolerant and unforgiving nature and surely is unworthy of a Christian clergyman.

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1. Swift's earlier attack on Marlborough in The Fable of Midas has already been noticed in the preceding chapter.

He left behind so great a s[tin]k.
Behold his funeral appears,
Nor widow's sighs, nor orphan's tears.
Wont at such times each heart to pierce,
Attend the progress of his herese.
But what of that, his friends may say,
He had those honours in his day.
True to his profit and his pride,
He made them weep before he dy'd.

(11. 16-24)

Accounting for the absence of mourners in Marlborough's funeral procession Swift unjustly holds him responsible for making so many widows and orphans through the prolongation of the war with France in which thousands of English soldiers lost their lives.

This poem was also meant to serve as a warning to the King's favourites who were involved in the South-Sea scandal. They are now invited to real their fate in that of the late Duke. Most probably the following lines were directed towards Walpole :

Come hither, all ye empty things,
Ye bubbles rais'd by breath of Kings;
Who float upon the tide of state,
Come hither, and behold your fate.

(11. 25-29)

Still reflecting Tory bias, Swift continued to attack the Whig government and administration from Ireland. In 1722, Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, was committed to the Tower on the charge of plotting for the restoration of the

Stuarts. Swift ridicules these proceedings[1] in Upon the horrid Plot (1722), and mentions the names of those who had turned informers against the persons supposedly associated with a half-hearted Jacobite move to restore the Young Pretender. He attacks the Whig government for its being highly partisan and manipulative, and abuses Walpole to the extent of calling him a "Dog".

To Charles Ford Esq. (1723), is again an attack on the Whigs who, being extremely hostile to the Tories, are accused of resorting to corrupt means to influence the judicial proceedings against their political opponents. Here Charles Ford, a Tory and Swift's friend,[2] is advised not to return to London for his other Tory friends are being subjected to Whig atrocities and even he may be implicated in some concocted plot :

> Your great Protectors, once in Power,
> Are now in Exile, or the Tower,
> Your Foes, triumphant o'er the Laws,
> Who hate Your Person, and Your Cause,
> If once they get you on the Spot
> You must be guilty of the Plot,
> For, true or false, they'll ne'r enquire,
> But see You ten times worse than Pri'r.
>
> (ll. 27-34)

---

1. Swift ridicules these proceedings at the end of Chapter VI, Part III of Gulliver's Travels.
2. Journal to Stella frequently mentions Charles Ford. Swift had introduced him to Ormonde, St. John and Harley in 1712, and had procurred for him the office of Gazetteer. (Journal to Stella, July 1, 1712).

Swift reached the apex of his politico-literary career for the second time when, in 1724-25, he championed the Irish cause against Walpole and his Whig government. Earlier, in 1720,[1] he had attained the same kind of reputation but this time he emerged strongly and more potently as an 'Irish Patriot'. Now Swift confirmed his allegiance to Ireland through his Drapier's Letters, published under the initials of M.B. Drapier, against William Wood's Project.[2] The Commissioners of the Revenue in Dublin had taken exception to this Project and a general opposition was organized. The Irish people had a general feeling that the Patent was obtained in "a Clandestine and Unpresendented Manner, and by a Grose Misrepresentation of the State of this Kingdom,"[3] and that it would lead to the diminution of the revenues and the ruin of Irish trade. Swift's Drapier's Letters fanned the flame of popular indignation against Wood's coinage. The English government took alarm at the situation and Harding, the printer of the Drapier's Letters was arrested. The Grand Jury refused to treat the Drapier's Letters as seditious and declined to prosecute Harding despite William Whitshed's attempts to brow beat its members. Swift supported this wild excitement and wrote satirical verses attacking Wood and Whitshed.

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1. Reference is to his anonymous pamphlet on Irish Manufacture.
2. For these letters see Chapter III.
3. Quoted from "Addresses of the Irish Houses of Parliament in September, 1723" reprinted in Drapier's Letters, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1941), p. 179.

Swift supported his Drapier's Letters with some poems attacking the patent which he considered as an affront to the Irish people and a source of monetary gain for Walpole, Wood and the Duchess of Kendal, the King's mistress. In the poems, as in the Drapier's Letters, he questioned the necessity of the issuance of the Patent and referred to the fraudulent methods used in getting it issued. One such poem, published anonymously, was A Serious Poem Upon William Wood (1724) in which Wood is called a "Rogue", a "Devil" and —

> Then if cutting down WOOD brings Money good Store,
> Our Money to keep, let us Cut down ONE more.
> .....
> ... By my Shoul he's the Son of a BEECH:
> Some call him a Thorn, the Curse of a Nation,
> As Thorns were design'd to be from the Creation.
>
> (ll. 15-16, 28-30)

In this poem Swift says that Wood was sent by England to "Cudgel our Bones" and lashes out at Walpole and the Duchess of Kendal, accusing them of conspiring with Wood against Ireland. Swift also alludes to the underhand means by which the 'Patent' was granted[1] and refers to Walpole's role in the affair as —

> And instead of the Devil, this Son of Perdition
> Hath joyn'd with himself two HAGS in Commission:
> Wood got so much Copper? He got it by BRASS;
> This BRASS was a Dragon...[2]
>
> (ll. 67-68, 86-87)

---

1. The Patent was granted to the Duchess of Kendal, George I's mistress, who sold it, through Walpole's assistance, to Wood for £ 10,000. It was generally felt that the Project came into effect on account of Walpole who got some commission from Wood.
2. Walpole is described as a 'brazen Politician' in

(cont. on Next Page)

In the same year, on Carteret's arrival in Ireland, Swift published An Epigram on Wood's Brass-Money. In this poem, he says that the resentment of the public against Wood's coinage was so intense that its sound drowned the sounds of Carteret's welcome :

> But when Wood's Brass began to sound,
> Guns, Trumpets, Drums, and Bells were drown'd.
>
> (11. 7-8)

Archbishop King had opposed Wood's Project by refusing to sign Carteret's proclamation against the 'Drapier'. On this Dr. King was praised in To the Arch-Bishop of Dublin (1724), where Swift says :

> The Force of thy superior Voice
> Shall strike him dumb, and quell their Noise.
>
> (11. 27-28)

An Excellent New Song (1724) is yet another poem in which Swift eulogizes Dr. King for the sacrifices he made for Ireland. In this poem Swift calls Wood's currency as "Trash" and spurious.

Swift makes further attacks on Walpole, Wood and the Duchess of Kendal in the anonymously published, Prometheus (1724). Here he calls Walpole as "Squire" alluding, ironically,

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Cont. from back page
'A Simile on our want of Silver'. Walpole got this nickname, 'Brass', during this controversy and it refers to the brass coins on one hand and to Walpole's (Or Sir Robert Brass) notorious brazenness on the other.

to the latter's insistence on keeping 'Esquire' as an appendage to his name. Swift also holds the trio responsible for the decline in people's love for George I, here referred to as "Jove". He calls Wood "Prometheus" and Kendal as "Venus" and says :

> Now while this Brazen Chain prevail'd,
> Jove saw that all Devotion fail'd;
>
> (ll. 41-42)

He concludes the poem with the hope that :

> ... Jove will soon convert I hope,
> This Brazen Chain into a Rope;
> With which Prometheus shall be ty'd,
> And high in Air for ever ride;
>
> (ll. 71-74)

To ridicule Whitshed for his dubious role in Harding's abortive trial, Swift wrote a lampoon in 1724 under the heading, Whitshed's Motto on His Coach.[1] In this poem, he attacks Whitshed for using the motto - 'LIBERTAS AND NATALE SOLUM', that is, 'Liberty and my native country.' Giving a satirical interpretation, Swift says :

> But, let me now the Words translate:
> Natale Solum : My Estate :
> My dear Estate, how well I love it;

1. In his correspondence with Lord Chancellor Middleton Swift says, 'I observed, ... the Device upon his Coach to be 'Libertas and natale Solum', ... when he was sitting in his Court, and perjuring himself to betray both'. (Drapier's Letters, ed. H. Davis, p. 100-101.

My Tenants, if you doubt, will prove it:
They swear I am so kind and good,
I hug them till I squeeze their Blood.

(11. 5-10)

writing in the same vein he proceeds to say :

LIBERTAS bears a large Import;
First; how to swagger in a Court;
And, secondly, to shew my Fury
Against an uncomplying Jury:
And, Thirdly; 'tis a new Invention
To favour WOOD and keep my Pension:
.....
And, Fifthly; you know whom I mean,
To humble that vexatious Dean.
And, Sixthly; for my Soul, to barter it
For Fifty Times its Worth, to Carteret.
(11. 11-22)

Swift also wrote, Verses on the upright Judge (1724), in which satirical reflections are cast on different aspects of Whitshed's life, particularly on his illegitimacy. Though there was no truth in this yet Swift's analysis of Whitshed's other objectionable activities gives credibility to this false allegation as well.

After the withdrawal of the Patent, Swift wrote three poems in 1725 in which he again severely attacked Walpole, Wood, and the Duchess of Kendal. In Wood, an Insect, he establishes a relationship between Wood and other insects that infect and destroy timber. Swift says :

Such a Worm was Will. Wood when he scratcht
at the Door
Of a governing Statesman, or favourite Whore:
The Death of our Nation it seem'd to foretell,
And the Sound of his Brass we took for our
Knell.

(11. 29-32)

He goes on to express his sense of relief over Wood's discomfiture :

But now, since the Drapier hath heartilly
maul'd him,
I think the best Thing we can do is to
scald him.

(11. 33-34)

In On Wood the Iron-monger, Swift's description of George I as a loving King is somewhat ambivalent and in keeping with the style of the writers of this age who were both ridiculing the King and suggesting that Walpole and his supporters were creating a serious breach between him and the people by misleading him. A Simile, again mentions the unholy alliance between Walpole and the Duchess of Kendal formed to destroy and deprive the Irish people of their own silver :

When late a Feminine Magician,
Join'd with a brazen Politician,
Expos'd, to blind the Nation's Eyes,
A Parchment of prodigious Size;
Conceal'd behind that ample screen,
There was no Silver to be seen.

(11. 19-24)

Here, the "Parchment of Prodigious Size" stands for Wood's Patent. It was the "Draper" who succeeded in ensuring that "Our Silver will appear again".

Between 1724-1737 Swift wrote a number of poems lashing at the Whig writers and politicians and also politics in general as practised in England and Ireland. Being a vehement Tory propagandist, Swift was also a target for attacks by the Whig writers like Smedley, Dr. Young, Ambrose Philips, Lawrence Eusden, Steele, Woolston, etc. All these writers appear frequently in Swift's satires of this period.

Dean Smedley, a strong Whig in politics, had supported Wood's Patent and satirized Swift in a poem which was later printed in his collection of satirical attacks on Swift and Pope, entitled Gulliveriana, (1728). His Grace's Answer to Jonathan (1724) was Swift's answer in which Smedley is ridiculed as :

> That Head so well by Wisdom fraught!
> That writes without the Toil of Thought.
>
> (11. 15-16)

Swift attacked Smedley again in 1725 in A Letter from D. S[wift] to D. S[medley] which was a reply to the latter's A Satyr.

Swift wrote Dr. Young's Satires in 1726 attacking Dr Edward Young, a Whig writer, who had published his collection of seven satires under the title, The Universal Passion, and dedicated it to Walpole and the Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir Spencer Compton. Swift's poem is also an attack on these two Whig leaders. In the same year Philips and Young were ridiculed by Swift in Two Celebrated Modern Poets.

In On Dreams (1724), Swift alluded to the suspicious Whig statemen who were always apprehensive of plots and conspiracies and were bent upon involving their opponents in them in order to acquire their property[1] through forfeiture :

> The Statesman rakes the Town to find a Plot,
> And dreams of Forfeitures by Treason got.
>
> (ll. 19-20)

In 1725, Swift wrote two poems, An Apology to Lady Cla\R[tere\T and The Birth of Manly Virtue, paying his compliments to Lady and Lord Carteret respectively. The former poem refers to Swift's being suspected of having Jacobite leanings on the basis of his friendship with Bolingbroke. The latter poem is a eulogy on Lord John Carteret who is hailed as a perfect embodiment of manly virtues. Swift and Carteret had always held each other in

1. Swift says so in the context of the contemporary situation and it is meant to allude to the Jacobite Plots. After assuming power Walpole made it a common practice to level charges of disloyalty to the Hanoverian Dynasty against his political opponents irrespective of their being a Whig or a Tory.

high esteem in spite of their different political affinities. Moreover, both had been on almost friendly terms during the last four years of Queen Anne's reign.[1] Beside these reasons, Carteret's opposition to Walpole and his sensible and sagacious role[2] in Wood's coinage controversy were also the factors that had endeared him to Swift.

Revival of the Order of the Bath, published anonymously in 1725, is an attack on George I and Walpole who had reinstituted this order for political reasons. Swift considered this move as Walpole's attempt to find more means of attracting men to his side and accumulating more political support. Alluding to this motive, he makes Walpole utter the following lines :

> Men of more Wit than Money, our Pensions will fit
> And this will suit Men of more Money than Wit.
> Thus my Subjects with pleasure will obey my Commands.
> Tho' as empty as Younge and as saucy as Sandes
>
> (ll. 7-10)

The last two lines of this poem, related to the King and his chief Minister's dispensation of the Court patronage, remind one of Swift's political allusion to the same subject in Gulliver's Travels[3]:

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1. Some indications of this are available in Journal to Stella. See, for example, letters dated 4 Jan, 1710/11; 25 Feb., 1710/11; 15 March, 1710/11, 10 Feb., 1711/12.
2. Lord Carteret, the then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, had refused to take any drastic action against Swift during this controversy and had frequently invited him to his place.
3. In the 'Voyage to Lilliput', Chapter III, Swift refers to the humuliating conduct of the supplicants for Court favours.

And he who will leap over a Stick for the King
Is qualified best for a Dog in a string.

(ll. 11-12)

George I died on 12 June, 1727. Richmond-Lodge and Marble-Hill, was published in this year with the intention of flattering Mrs. Howard, mistress of George II, whose favour Swift and his friends had been trying to secure for quite some time. Swift, like his political friends, over-estimated her influence with the King since it was not she but his wife, Queen Caroline, whose advice, as the events showed, was more valued by George II in state affairs.

This poem is in the form of a dialogue between two buildings, Richmond-Lodge and Marble-Hill.[1] It refers to Swift's friendship with the Princess of Wales, who later on transferred her trust and friendship to Walpole on becoming the Queen, thus causing much disappointment to Swift and other opponents of Walpole.

Swift's concern for Ireland was so deep-rooted that on occasions he, out of sheer disgust, passed derogatory remarks on the country and its people for their posture of passivity against political injustices. He had always dreamt of a liberated and self-dependent Ireland and had found fault with the Irish

1. Former, the residence of the Prince and the Princess of Wales, and the latter that of Mrs. Howard built by George II.

people for their slavish mentality. During 1727 he published the Poems from the Holyhead Journal,[1] in which he rebukes the Irish people for their want of nerve. Showing his anger, he wishes for death to get himself removed "from this land of slaves/ Where all are fools, and all are knaves" (ll. 1-2). Expecting nothing better from the Irish people, he would rather "go in freedom to my grave,/ Than Rule yon Isle and be a Slave" (ll. 33-34). While commenting on the senseless in-fighting of the Irish, he says :

> And when their country lyse at stake
> They only fight for fighting sake.
>
> (ll. 7-8)

He also voices his anger against the [illegible] members of the Irish House of Common who were indifferent to their national interest and had sold themselves to the English rulers who were ruining their country :

> Poor Kingdom thou wouldst be that Governor's debtor,
> Who kindly would leave thee no worse nor no better.
>
> (ll. 19-20)

Swift expressed similar sentiments in St. Patrick's Well (1729) where he warns the Irish that they will all be

1. Swift published a set of [illegible] verses under this single title and did not give seperate titles. Harold Williams has included these poems in his edition of The Poems of Jonathan Swift, Volume II.

"made Captives in their native Land", and will not even get 'Brass' coins, as all their wealth will be transferred to England :

> Who to yon rav'nous Isle thy Treasures bear,
> And waste in Luxury thy Harvests there.
>
> (11. 97-98)

In the same year Swift also wrote Drapier Hill, expressing his unhappiness caused by a suspected change in the attitude of the Irish people towards him. He complains that they have forgotten the services of the Drapier who was so popular during Wood's controversy that special "Medals" and "Handkerchiefs" were made in his honour.

In 1729 Swift wrote Directions for a Birth-day Song, a satire on George II and his poet-laureate, Laurence Eusden, who was writing New Year and Birthday Odes since 1719 in honour of the Hanoverian Kings. This poem was addressed to Matthew Pilkington who, anxious for worldly favour and political gains, was engaged on an Ode for the approaching birthday of George II. In this poem Swift alludes, for the first time, to the bitter relationship between George II and his late father and ridicules Eusden for establishing a similarity between the King and the Greek Gods :

Because they might have heard of one
Who often long'd to eat his Son :
But this I think will not go down,
For here the Father kept his Crown.

(ll. 11-14)

Swift also calls the King a "Tyrant" and a "Royal Dunce", inclined to "Avarice" and ironically refers to his doubtful claim to the kingship of England.[1] There are some lines on Walpole too in which he is again accused of neglecting national interests in order to appease Spain. Swift also warns Eusden of the possibility of his sharing Walpole's expected fate, that is, his dismissal from power. In that event Walpole's successor will definitely punish Eusden for praising Walpole.

Swift had great contempt for the writers who tended to lavish excessive praise on the politicians. In 1730 he wrote An Epistle Upon an Epistle in which he makes a jesting comparison of Delany's petition[2] to Carteret with that of Smedley's petition to the Duke of Grafton.[3] A few weeks later, taking up the same theme, Swift published A Libel on D[octor] D[elany], which is a satire on politicians in general. This poem attacks the meanness of the whole race of politicians who take undue

1. His legitimacy, and hence his claim to the English throne, was questioned by the Jacobites on account of the supposed acts of infidelity of his mother for which she was kept as a prisoner in Hanover by her husband, George I.
2. In 1729 Delany published, An Epistle to Lord Carteret, bluntly soliciting additional preferment.
3. Smedley had written An Epistle ... Duke of Grafton ... in 1724 which was ridiculed by Swift in His Grace's Answer to Jonathan.

advantage of the needy writers. Swift speaks with contempt for those who write to please the whims of the politicians and expresses his admirations for those principled men of letters who exhibit self-respect and refuse to satisfy the politician's "Lust of pride" :

> So, Men of Wit are but a kind
> Of Pandars to a vicious Mind,
> Who proper Objects must provide
> To gratify their Lust of Pride,
> When weary'd with Intrigues of State,
> They find an idle Hour to Prate.
> Then, shou'd you dare to ask a Place,
> You forfeit all your Patron's Grace.
>
> (11. 23-30)

While attacking the politicians for their mean-mindedness, Swift expresses his own attitude towards them:

> But I, in Politicks grown old,
> Whose Thoughts are of a diff'rent Mold,
> Who, from my Soul, sincerely hate
> Both [Kings] and Ministers of State,
>
> (11. 171-74)

In the process Swift also makes fun of Congreve, Steele, Addison and Delany, who had flattered such self-centred, petty-minded politicians but got little in return. On the other hand, he praises Gay[1] and, more particularly, Pope[2] who followed the opposite path. Referring to the latter, he says :

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1. Gay had felt humiliated and insulted on being offered to serve as usher to Princess Louisa. He refused the offer and satirized Walpole in Beggar's Opera.
2. Pope had refused to flatter Walpole in his literary works.

His Heart too Great, though Fortune little,
To lick a Rascal Statesman's Spittle.

(11. 81-82)

Carteret was the only Whig politician who escaped Swift's frown, but even in his case Swift made a distinction between him and his office :

I do the most that Friendship can;
I hate the Vice-Roy, love the Man.

(11. 151-52)

There is no doubt that this poem reflects Swift's sense of frustration and injury accumulated over the years. It is also very likely that he is also here narrating his personal experience with the Tory leaders, who could not fulfill his desires (offer him a Bishopric in England) in spite of his valuable services to the Party.

The arrest of news-boys selling copies of A Libel on D[octor] D[elany], led to the writing of On the Irish-Club (1730), an attack on the members of the Irish Parliament who are again accused of behaving like slaves of England and were, thus, causing misery to their countrymen. While admonishing them Swift also exhorts them to —

Defend your liberties and laws.
Be sometimes to your country true,
Have once the public good in view:
(11. 16-18)

In the same year Swift wrote To Doctor Delany, to mollify Delany's sense of injury.[1] Swift attacks the Whig vices of his age and in the process tries to placate Dr. Delany by ascribing to him the following as his motto :

> On me, when Dunces are satyrick,
> I take it for a Panegyrick.
> Hated by Fools, and Fools to hate,
> Be that my Motto, and my Fate.
>
> (ll. 169-72)

The poem also ironically praises the Irish Parliament which hitherto was accussed of not showing any concern for the freedom and welfare of the Irish people. He conveys the same idea but in a deceptive way :

> The Irish Senate's Praises sing :
> How jealous of the Nation's Freedom,
> And, for Corruptions, how they weed 'em.
> How each the Publick Good pursues,
> How far their Hearts from private Views,
>
> (ll. 56-60).

While replying to Delany's The Pheasant and the Lark (1730), a poem in which George II and Carteret are praised, Swift wrote his Answer (1730), once again making fun of Delany for calling the King a "Peacock". Here Swift also alludes to the standing army[2] and attacks the pro-government Irishmen —

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1. Delany's feelings had been hurt by Sheridan's Answer to the Christmas-Box, and other squibs directed against him.
2. Swift was a follower of the Revolution of 1688 after which it had been decided not to keep a Standing Army. Moreover, being a Tory in politics, Swift was against this institution. Only the Whigs were in favour of a Standing army.

Whose Malice, for the Worst of Ends,
Wou'd have us lose our ENGLISH Friends.

(11. 97-98)

This remark is directed at those who considered the 'ENGLISH' exploiters as its of Ireland friends.

Swift's attacks on the English government were caused by its unsympathetic attitude towards the Irish people and their interests. He highlighted this fact in The True English Dean (1730) by attacking the government for its policy of favouritism and protection to the offenders of law. This poem refers to Sawbridge, an English Dean, who had committed rape in Ireland. In his letter to Oxford, dated August 28, 1730, Swift, with Walpole's criteria for promotions and preferments in mind, satirically predicts : "... I am confident you will hear of his [Sawbridge] being a Bishop."[1] Sawbridge was a staunch Whig, loyal to the Hanoverian Dynasty and hostile to the Tories. Swift directs his attacks on the Whig government which he was sure will not punish this immoral and criminal Dean. He supports his statement by giving the example of Charteres, the notorious protege of Walpole, who, due to Walpole's protection, remained unpunished even after he was convicted for a similar offence.[2]

In October, 1730, Swift wrote to Lord Bathhurst :

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1. Correspondence, iv, 161-2.

"Having some months ago much and often offended the ruling party, and often worried by libellers, I was at the pains of writing one in their style and manner, and sent it by an unknown hand to a Whig printer who very faithfully published it".[1] He was referring to his ironical verse satire, A Panegyric on Dean Swift, in which he has indirectly attacked the Whig politicians and the writers who praise them to gain their favours. Adopting the posture of these writers, Swift wrote the poem as a satire on himself, in which he is praised as if grudgingly, for his courage in attacking men in power and still going unpunished. Mention is made of his —

> Lampoons on Whigs, when in Disgrace;
> Or vile Submissions, when in Place;
> Poems address'd to great Men's Whores;
>
> (11. 33-35)

and of his relentless baiting of the Walpole faction :

> Nor ceas'd the Faction to pursue,
> Till you had got them in a Screw.
>
> (11. 43-44)

In 1729 and 1730 Swift also wrote To Dean Swift and The Revolution at Market-Hill, both attacking Walpole. In the former, he calls him a "Brazen Knight" and refers to his habit of providing patronage to the undeserving. He also

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1. Correspondence, iv. 167.

ridicules his apparently ridiculous foreign policy based on the principle of 'no peace no war', commonly called by his critics as the 'War-like Peace' policy. The latter poem is an attack on the politicians who get rid of those through whose assistance they had risen. These remarks were also meant for Walpole as one of his notorious practices was to kick down the ladder.[1]

From 1731 onwards Swift's poetical attacks were more pointedly aimed at the Whig government, Walpole, George II, Queen Caroline, the Irish Parliament and the Irish People. These poems also sum up his religious beliefs as well as his views on politics and Irish affairs. John Gay's departure from the Court and his subsequent securing of the patronage of the Duke and Duchess of Queensbury in the form of stewardship occasioned On Mr. Gay (1731). This poem draws a contrast between the stewardship of Gay and that of the so called steward of the nation, Robert Walpole. Swift presents Walpole as a dishonest and corrupt steward, who was responsible for Gay's humiliation at the Court.[2] Swift was also convinced that Walpole — "Bob, the Poet's Foe" — was poisoning the ears of Queen Caroline against him and his friends. This had aggravated Swift's hatred for Walpole, who is described as:—

1. This was a very common charge against Walpole who had got rid of the Earl of Sunderland, Lord Carteret and William Pulteney — men through whose assistance he had risen to great political heights.
2. Walpole had suspected Gay due to his friendship with Swift and Pope and, hence, denied him a decent job in spite of his long attachment and services to the Court.

A bloated M[iniste]r in all his Geer,
With shameless Visage, and perfidious Leer,
.....
Rolls from his Mouth in plenteous Streams of Mud;
With these, the Court and Senate-house he plies,
Made up of Noise, and Impudence, and Lies.

(ll. 33-34, 40-42)

Swift advises Gay to avoid the disgraceful practices of this "steward" which include bribery, threats, flattery, deception, insulting the meritorious, nepotism, amassing of wealth and abusing the master's trust.

In the latter part of this poem Swift lashes at Walpole for using "Hush-money" to keep his corrupt practices concealed from the King, as a result of which —

Thus Families, like R[eal]ms, with equal Fate,
May sink by Premier Ministers of State.

(ll. 115-16)

While referring to him as a "brazen Minister of State"[1], Swift once again wishes for his dismissal from the office :

Who bore for twice ten Years the publick Hate.
In every Mouth the Question most in Vogue
Was, When will THEY turn out this odius Rogue?

(ll. 144-46)

Swift and his friends had expected Walpole's dismissal after

1. Swift uses 'brazen Minister of State', a famous epithet for Walpole as his critics called him Sir Robert Brass due to his brazeness, shamlessness and devilish designs.

the death of George I, but he continued to be a steward of the nation, not for his worth as an able administrator but, as Swift suggests, due to his crimes :

> He ow'd his Preservation to his Crimes.
> The Candidates observ'd his dirty Paws,
> Nor found it difficult to guess the Cause:
> But when they smelt such foul Corruptions
> round him;
> Away they fled, and left him as they found him.
>
> (ll. 156-60)

In 1731 Swift attacked Walpole in other poems as well. Firstly, in On Mr. Pulteney, occasioned by the removal of Sir William Pulteney from the membership of the Privy Council.[1] Walpole, who indeed was afraid of Pulteney's talents, is given the following warnings in this poem :

> Yet still I fear your Work[2] is done but Half;
> For while he keeps his Pen[2], you are not safe.
>
> (ll. 13-14)

Swift further expresses :

> Thus B[ob] shal't thou be mawl'd, fly where
> thou wil't :
>
> (l. 38)

---

1. Pulteney was a close associate of Walpole after becoming Secretary of War in 1714, but from 1725 onwards he opposed Walpole openly and joined with Bolingbroke in attacking him in The Craftsman. He also formed a party of discontented Whigs called 'The Patriots'. Later, in 1742, Pulteney was mainly responsible for bringing about Walpole's fall.
2. Reference is here to Pulteney's contributions to The Craftsman.

because,

> So keen thy Hunters, and thy Scent so strong;
> Thy Turns and Doublings cannot save thee long.
>
> (11. 43-44)

The next poem, Character of Sir Robert Walpole, is a translation of a French lampoon on Cardinal Fleury, the famous French Premier. Swift, here, draws a satirical parallel between Fleury and Walpole, who is described as having the former's vices. Walpole is presented as a bully, a false news-monger, a "briber", and an oppressor of the worthy. He is also accused of working against the welfare of the nation and of amassing "unmerited fortune".

In 1731 Swift wrote two poems on himself : Life and Character of Dr. Swift and Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift. The first one mentions how people, after his death, would talk about his having been a "confounded Tory" and of being once "well receiv'd at Court", which accounted for his popularity among the great leaders of those days. While speaking about his role as an Irish patriot the people will say —

> Must we the Drapier then forget?
> Is not our Nation in his Debt.
>
> (11. 95-96)

For his enemies, Swift says that they will criticize him for attacking Walpole, their "Patriot" and accuse him in this process :

> What Scenes of Evil he unravels,
> In Satyrs, Libels, lying Travels![1]
> (ll. 111-112)

Such critics will term his writings as "scribbled in the worst of times", to console and defend "Oxford" against his "Crimes" and to "praise Queen Anne" but, never to "favour the Pretender". This exhibits his firm loyalty to Earl of Oxford and Queen Anne and hostility to the Jacobite cause.

This poem also refers to his anti-Catholic and anti-Presbyterian Anglican principles :

> The Pope, or Calvin he'd oppose,
> And thought they Both were equal Foes:
> That Church and State had suffer'd more
> By Calvin, than the Scarlet Whore:[2]
> Thought Popish and Fanatick Zeal,
> Both bitter Foes to Britain's Weal.
> .....
> Not so, the vile Fanatick Crew;
> That Ruin'd Church and Monarch too.
>
> (ll. 148-153, 156-157)

Swift concludes this poem by producing the supposed comments of the people holding neutral views about him :

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1. Reference is to Gulliver's Travels.
2. That is, the Roman Church, often called the 'Whore of Babylon' by its detractors.

'Tis plain, his Writings were design'd
To please, and to reform Mankind;
And, if he often miss'd his Aim,
'The World must own it, to their shame;
'The Praise is His, and Theirs the Blame.

(ll. 196-200)

The second poem, Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift, is again an attack on his political and literary opponents. Swift imagines that the Whig writers, whose party he had always attacked, shall be writing libels on him after his death but he expects that the honest and impartial people will remember him with gratitude for his services to the Irish cause. These people will feel no hesitation in admitting that ——

'The Dean did by his Pen defeat
'An infamous destructive Cheat.
Taught Fools their Int'rest how to know;
'And gave them Arms to ward the Blow.

(ll. 407-10)

While describing his role in Ireland Swift does not forget to attack Whitshed ——

'Who long all Justice had discarded,
'Nor fear'd he GOD, nor Man regarded;

(ll. 421-22)

Swift also describes the pathetic condition of Ireland which was being treated like a colony by England. It was for this

reason that he often felt like an exile in Ireland.

While accounting for his own popularity, he describes his "Works in Verse and Prose", which were "bought" by "all people", as —

> 'As with a moral View design'd
> 'To cure the Vices of Mankind:
> 'His Vein, ironically grave,
> 'Expos'd the Fool, and lash'd the Knave:
>
> (ll. 313-16)

Swift also attacks Walpole for hiring a set of petty writers to defend him and makes fun of the most notable among them, such as Cibber, Stephen Duck and James Moore. Swift also refers to the trust and faith which his Tory friends, like Oxford and Bolingbroke, had in him and says —

> "Though trusted long in great Affairs,
> He gave himself no haughty Airs :
> Without regarding private Ends,
> 'Spent all his Credit for his Friends :
>
> (ll. 329-32)

This poem also alludes to the developments that followed the anonymous publications of The Public Spirit of the Whigs (1713) and The Drapier's Fourth Letter (1724). On both these occasions the governments of the "Two Kingdoms" [illegible] is, of England and Ireland) had "set a Price upon his [illegible]", but in spite of being strongly suspected "not a Traytor cou'd be found", to report against him and claim the announced

reward.

Swift also recalls his unsuccessful efforts "To reconcile his Friends in Power", Harley and St. John, and at last leaving "Court in mere Despair". He then refers to the happenings which followed the accession of George I and the formation of a new Whig Ministry. He also mentions the vindictive attitude of the Whigs and accuses them of having brought ruin to England :

> 'When up a dangerous Faction starts,
> With Wrath and Vengeance in their Hearts:
> .....
> 'To ruin, slaughter, and confound;
> 'To turn Religion to a Fable,
> And make the Government a Babel:
> Pervert the Law, disgrace the Gown,
> Corrupt the Senate, rob the Crown;
> To sacrifice old England's Glory,
>
> (11. 379-80, 82-87)

Swift further alludes to Oxford's impeachment, Bolingbroke's escape to France and of himself being suspected as a Jacobite. The whole situation was frightening for him :

> 'With Horror, Grief, Despair the Dean
> 'Beheld the dire destructive Scene:
>
> (11. 391-392)

Talking about himself, he says :

> He never courted Men in Station,
> Nor Persons had in Admiration;

Of no Man's Greatness was afraid,
Because he sought no Man's Aid.

(ll. 325-28)

He also refers to his attitude towards the politicians :

And till they drove me out of Date,
Could maul a Minister of State :
If they have mortify'd my Pride,
And made me throw my Pen aside;

(ll. 61-64)

In a rather self-laudatory style he refers to his love for true liberty :

Fair LIBERTY was all his Cry;
For her he stood prepar'd to die;
For her he boldly stood alone;
For her he oft expos'd his own.

(ll. 347-350)

In 1732 Swift wrote The Beasts Confession, ridiculling the so called public spiritedness of the politicians and alluding, by way of an example, to Walpole's Excise Bill of 1733[1] which, though designed to check smuggling, had to be withdrawn due to the opposition propaganda that it was designed to curb people's rights and liberty. Swift, indirectly, attacks the Whig government for such unpopular measures and also for keeping the "Standing Troops" at the time of peace to terrorize the people. The Whig claim that these measures were

1. Discussed in Chapter I.

for the benefit of the public were dismissed by Swift as by other critics of Walpole.

Two memorable poems of satiric commentary on English politics and political figures are the Epistle to a Lady and On Poetry : A Rhapsody, both published in 1733. In the former poem, Swift says that he has always encountered "Vice with Mirth" and attacked the "Wicked Ministers of State" and the "Vices of a Court". Swift even goes to the extent of calling George II a "Monkey" and asks :

> Shou'd a Monkey wear a Crown,
> Must I tremble at his Frown?
>
> (11. 149-50)

He is advised to be more discrete and

> Safely write a smart Lampoon,
> To expose the brisk Baboob?
>
> (11. 153-54)

He describes the members of the Parliament as "knaves" who deserve to be hanged for blindly and slavishly supporting an unscrupulous and corrupt minister :

> (Tho' it must be understood,
> I would hang them if I cou'd.)
>
> (11. 169-70)

Swift ironically calls Walpole as "my Friend Sir Robert Brass" and says that he has always made fun of him. He goes on to compliment the leaders who had dared to oppose Walpole.[1] Summing up his attitude towards the Whig administration and George II he claims for himself —

> I, WHO love to have a Fling,
> Both at Senate-House, and [King].
>
> (11. 221-22)

Further, in the same vein he maintains —

> None of them have Mercy found:
> I have laugh'd, and lash'd them round.
>
> (11. 247-48)

In the second poem, On Poetry : A Rhapsody,[2] Swift makes a masterly use of sarcasm and satirizes the Court, Walpole and his government. Craik has correctly said that this poem "stands side by side with Pope's Epistle to Augustus, and transcends the latter in its force of sweeping sarcasm"[3] with its satiric address to George II. Swift begins in an ambiguous style and goes on to refer to Walpole as —

> A publick, or a private Robber;
> A Statesman, or a South-Sea Jobber.
> (11. 161-62)

---

1. The leaders are Bolingbroke, Pulteney and the fictitious editor of The Craftsman.
2. This poetic satire may be regarded as a part of the great anti-Whig drive which, to a certain degree, was mapped out at Twickenham by Swift and Pope in 1726-27.
3. Life of Swift, 2nd ed., 1894, ii, 229.

He also alludes to the necessity that Walpole felt to get something written in his defence. This he could only manage by hiring the scribblers. His liberality to his hired flatterers is thus mentioned :

> From Party-Merit seek Support;
> The vilest Verse thrives best at Court.
> A Pamphlet in Sir Rob's Defence
> Will never fail to bring in Pence;
> Nor be concern'd about the Sale,
> He pays his Workmen on the Nail.
>
> (ll. 185-90)

Swift makes masterly use of irony again while attacking George II. He says that the "virtues" that are to be found in him are all due to his being a reigning monarch. After his death both he and his so-called virtues will be forgotten. He advises the poets to be worldly wise and "Employ" their, "muse on Kings alive" if they want to "thrive". Using the same technique he also pays left-handed compliments to Walpole, the "Minister of State" —

> Who shines alone, without a Mate.
> Observe with what majestick Port
> This Atlas stands to prop the Court:
>
> (ll. 442-44)

After this, he proceeds to address Walpole, praising him sarcastically for the virtues that he was never supposed to possess :

In all Affairs thou sole Director,
Of Wit and Learning Chief Protector:
.....
Now Learning, Valour, Virtue, Sense,
To Titles give the sole Pretence.
St. George beheld thee with Delight,
Vouchsafe to be an azure Knight,
When on thy Breast and Sides Herculean,
He fixt the Star and String Cerulean.

(11. 449-50, 459-64)

Here Swift's meaning is quite clear. In these apparently complimentary lines he has attacked Walpole and has ironically mentioned his so called magnanimity, his public spiritedness, his patronage of learning and wit, his selflessness in honouring others with titles and keeping himself satisfied with an ordinary Knighthood.[1] With the intention of making fun of him he alludes to his "Sides Herculean", his "Star" and "String Cerulean" after he was made Knight of the Garter in 1726.

Both these poems appeared very provocative to Walpole who now seriously thought of getting Swift arrested. The government took action on the publication of Epistle to a Lady. The printer and the book-seller of this poem were arrested but later had to be released as the poem was not considered a libel. Thomas Sheridan says that Walpole, "Exasperated to the highest degree", by this poem and the

1. Walpole got a peerage for his son but accepted nothing more than a Knighthood as he did not wish to lose his seat in the House of Commons, the base of his political power.

'Rhapsody on Poetry',[1] ordered a warrant for Swift's arrest, whom he knew to be the author, but desisted from his purpose upon being told that an army of 10,000 men would be required for this purpose in Ireland, so great was his popularity.

Throughout his life Swift had opposed the repeal of the Test-Act in Ireland[2] and had published a number of prose tracts in 1708 and 1732-33 opposing the move.[3] While dealing with this subject in his poetry he wrote, The Fable of the Bishes (1715), Poems from the Holy-head Journal (1727), and Brother Protestants (1733). His poems express his opposition to the attempts of the Whig government at providing relief to the Catholics and Dissenters who sufferred from certain civil disabilities due to the Test-Act. Swift's last services to the Anglican Church came with his attacks on the Presbyterians in Ireland, who were vigorously agitating for the repeal of the laws directed against them. The Irish House of Commons showed a clear cut majority against such a move. So, Brother Protestants is a lampoon which attacks Richard Bettesworth, a

1. Life of Swift, 1784, pp. 276-8.
2. Swift considered the Test-Act as an effective check on the Presbyterians in Ireland. He was opposed to relieving the Catholics and Dissenters from the disabilities they suffered under this Act.
3. In 1708, Swift published, 'A Letter from a Member of the House of Common in Ireland to a Member of the House of Common in England. In 1732-33, he published, The Advantages proposed by repealing the Sacramental Test impartially considered (1732); Queries relating to the Sacramental Test (1732); Reasons humbly offered to the Parliament of Ireland for repealing the Test in favour of Roman Catholics (1733); and The Presbyterians Plea of Merit (1733).

member of Parliament, who strongly supported this move. Swift uses derogatory phrases for the Dissidents, laughs at them for presenting themselves as brothers of the Protestants and, thus, exhibits once again his very pronounced High-Church prejudices.

Swift's earlier attacks on the Irish Parliament were, On the Irish-Club (1730) and To Doctor Delany (1730). In 1736, he wrote The Legion Club, a severe attack on its members. It is, however, a product which indicates the decline of his literary powers, if not its end. This severe invective was prompted by his continuing support for the Irish clergy (Anglican) against all the attempts made by the Irish Parliament to deprive them of the tithes which were legally due to them. Swift lashes out very severely at the Irish Parliament and says, ——

> Tell us, what this Pile contains?
> Many a Head that holds no Brains.
> These Demoniacs let me dub,
> With the Name of Legion Club.
>
> (11. 9-12)

He describes it as a "Den of Thieves", a "Harpies Nest", a "Mad-House", an "infectious Crew", and its members as "Butchers", "Monkey", "Brutes", who ——

. . . , when they once get in
Sell the Nation for a Pin;
.....
Let them form a grand Committee
How to plague and starve the City;
Let them stare and storm and frown,
When they see a Clergy-Gown.

(11. 47-48, 53-56)

This poem is a generalized attack on all but the fifty-two members of the Irish Parliament who had opposed the Bill by objecting to the clause on Clergymen's Tithes.

Swift, before becoming mentally retarted, for the last time, nearly involved himself in an agitation which momentarily threatened to rival the one over Wood's Patent. Being disturbed over the scarcity of small silver coins in Ireland and the lowering of gold standards, Swift wrote A Ballad (1737) expressing his anger. He got black flags hoisted on his Cathedral (St. Patrick's, Dublin) and ordered a muffled peal to be rung to express his feelings. In the same year he wrote Ay and No, an attack on and a warning to Walpole, his government and Archbishop Boulter, whom he suspected to be against Ireland as he was during Wood's controversy :

Go tell your friend Bob and the other great folk,
That sinking the coin is a dangerous joke.
'The Irish dear joys have enough common sense,
'To treat gold reduc'd like Wood's copper pence.

(11. 13-16)

To sum up, Swift's political poems of this period (1715-1737) revolve around four main themes — Ireland, his Tory friends, the privileges of the Anglican clergymen and the Whig policies and measures. In this process he comes out as a champion of the Irish cause for which he was rightly hailed as a true Irish Patriot. While dealing with these themes, he directs his attacks against the Whig politicians, and the Whig literary wits but more particularly against Walpole, his detestation for whom never showed any sign of abatement.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusion : Swift's Political Views as reflected in his Poetry

Jonathan Swift was an active participant in the political battles of England and Ireland fought in the great public arena of literary activity. His poetry, like his prose, is a reflection of the political and social scene of his days in England and Ireland. Swift had won the immediate recognition of his contemporaries as a writer of satiric prose, and with the passage of time had further secured his fame. The motives and incentives that form the basis of much of his verse satire are virtually the same as of his prose works. His satirical poetry like his satirical prose, contains evidence of his sense of frustration and deprivation caused by real and imaginary disappointments as well as of his never-ending crusade against political corruption and social injustices.

Throughout his literary career Swift continued to turn out verse as a normal routine and put his personal experiences and feelings into it. His character, his standing with the people that counted, his relations with the Tories and the Whigs, the events of his personal life and his political and religious views are amply and unambiguously expressed in his poetry. We are much closer to Swift, the man, in his letters and poetry than in his prose writings. Like his

correspondence, the bulk of his verse was meant initially for a restricted private circulation among his close friends. Moreover, much of it was either published anonymously during his life time or recognized as his only after his death.

Swift sets forth certain aspects of his life and character in his poetry. This is why while summing up his views on Swift's poetry, Dr. Elrington Ball says :"Without knowledge of his verse a true picture of Swift cannot be drawn. In his verse he sets forth his life as in a panoroma, he shows more clearly than in his prose his peculiar turn of thought, and he reveals his character in all its phases from the most attractive to the most repellant."[1]

The fact that Swift's poetry is immersed in the political and religious controversies of his time explains its distinctive feature —its clarity of expression and witticism. His verse shows that his views and activities were based on varying combinations of political and religious theories as also his personal interests and relations. His involvement in the issues of the day was so intensely emotional that very often he appears to be a partisan publicist rather than a pure literary figure. This, no doubt, accounts for the force of his expression. His observations and comments on the matters that

1. Swift's Verse, p. viii.

appeared provocative to him hardly allow any scope for refutation. His treatment of the political issues was mostly dictated by his concern for his, friends who happened to belong to the Tory party as also by his personal convictions. But occasionally it is also generalized to such a degree as to look merely platitudinous.

Swift's political poems played a considerable role in rousing and sustaining his party's spirits at the time of political crises. Swift's period was characterized by intense political activity beginning with the conflicts between the Whigs and the Tories and ending with the struggle between the Whigs in power and those in opposition. Parallel to these conflicts ran the struggle of the Irish people for having a greater say in the affairs of their country. Swift's involvement with these struggles and conflicts, as his poems show, was very deep and intimate. It is a reflection of his political affinities, convictions and responses to the critical issues of the day. He firmly believed in the Constitutional Monarchy, in the supremacy of the Anglican Church and, in the legitimacy of the Irish demands. These were the issues that occupied his mind and attention during the active years of his literary career and, therefore, loom large in his poems.

Like most of the Anglo-Irish of the Restoration era, Swift began as a Whig and his training under the Temples

confirmed him in his political principles of a thoroughly Whiggish cast. Indeed, he was later to insist that he had remained steadfastly "what they called a Whig in politics". His early odes exhibit his political creed of this stage, which was that of a pro-Revolution, pro-Anglican, anti-French, and anti-Roman Catholic, High-Churchman opposed to radical Church reforms as well as to the interference of the state in its affairs.

That Swift ardently desired Church preferment in England is not a hidden fact. It was his failure in obtaining this that turned him against those whom he considered responsible for it, the statesmen like Lord Somers, Godolphin, Halifax, etc. The poetic references to this disappointment reflect Swift's strong personal bias. The poems like The Problem and The Discovery are occasional pieces that deal with this theme and also reveal his life-long tendency of over-reacting to personal affronts.

From 1708 onwards, Swift remained a Whig as far as the theory of government was concerned and accepted whole-heartedly the principle of the Revolution. But, his attitude in matters affecting the status of the established religion remained that of the High-Churchman. Swift proved himself to be a man of principle and stuck to his convictions at the cost of his

personal interests. He severed his ties with the Whigs when he learned that their policies were detrimental to the Established Church.[1] To understand these happenings is to understand Swift's ideas on politics and the Church, and also to understand how they took shape in his mind. Swift's poetry clearly indicates that his transferring of loyalties from the Whigs to the Tories was mainly due to his firm belief in the Established Church.

The political turmoil of 1710 led to the formation of a Tory ministry and Swift openly came over to the Tory side in accordance with his religious and political beliefs. The apprehension that the Whigs might try to weaken the Church by repealing the Test-Act in Ireland, and Harley's assurance that the Tory Party was the real Church Party paved the way for an alliance between the Tories and Swift. Moreover, Swift's failure in securing the remittance of the First-Fruits for the Irish Clergy and his personal disappointments with the Whigs assisted Harley in winning Swift's support for his party. From this stage onwards Swift acted as a vehement Tory and became a pillar of support for the Harley-St.John Ministry.

Swift's poetry of this period (1710 - 1714) is

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1. At this stage Swift was monitoring the political moves in England. The Godolphin ministry, which was originally almost Tory, was ready to repeal the Test-Act. Swift realized that such a policy was to be implemented at the cost of the Anglican Church. The appointment of Wharton as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland meant a clear indication for the repeal of the Test-Act in Ireland, determined upon as a preliminary step towards relieving the Dissenters in England. This was the worst that could happen from Swiftian point of view.

thoroughly devoted to the promotion of the interests of the Tories and vindication of their policies and measures. In forthright terms Swift defended the new ministry, chiefly its efforts towards effecting peace with France. His poems reveal his hostility towards the late Whig Ministry and its prominent leaders and supporters like, the Duke of Wharton, the Duke of Marlborough, the Earl of Godolphin, Lord Nottingham,[1] the Duchess of Somerset and others. The verses of this period offer reasonable arguments in support of the steps taken by the Tory ministry to bring the hostilities between England and France to a close. Besides this defence of the Tory ministry, they are also a denunciation of the Whigs which too appears sound and reasonable. The poetic arguments aim at proving that the old Whig ministry, by its policy of continuing the war with France, had brought the nation to the brink of disaster and that the Tories alone could salvage it. Swift condemned "war" outright as a "bad" game and tried to convince the public that the issue of "war" and "peace" was actually a tussle between the 'Moneyed' and 'Landed' interests respectively.

Characteristically, Swift found relief in lampooning those whom he identified as enemies of the Tories, the Church, the landed-gentry and the Peace. Godolphin got a scurrilous

1. A Tory supporter of the Whig war policy.

lampoon, Sid Hamet the Magician's Rod, for supporting the Occasional Conformity Bill. The Earl of Wharton was attacked for his anti-Church stand in Part of Epistle VII, Book I of Horace Imitated. Marlborough was subjected to the most bitter attacks for his avarice and pro-war stand. The Earl of Nottingham was ridiculed for hobnobbing with the Whigs. The Duchess of Somerset was subjected to a ruthless treatment in the unforgetable lines of Windsor Prophecy. Besides these poems, The Author Upon Himself, The Fable of the Widow and her Cat, Fable of Midas, Satirical Elegy ... Famous General, etc. are some other excellent pieces containing strident attacks on the Whig politicians and programmes.

In the poetical writings of this period, there is another set which is devoted to the defence of the Tory party and a light-hearted description of Swift's relationship with its leaders. Horace, Part of the Sixth Satire of the Second Book and The Author Upon Himself, indirectly refer to the influence which Swift exercised over the Tory leadership in the form of a mock-denial. In short, the verses of this period can rightly be considered as products of a brilliant but ambitious person who found personal satisfaction in furthering the interests of his political friends.

While in Ireland, after 1714, Swift's passions rose

again and, now, he foccused his attention on the miserable condition of the Irish people for which he held the Whigs and the English Government wholly responsible. The poetic output from this point onwards was marked by his concern for the welfare of the Irish people and for Irish Liberty. It was during this period that he emerged as an 'Irish Patriot' and a vehemently articulate Churchman. The poems composed between 1715 and 1737 are very important for in them he appears more openly as a critic of the Whigs who were now in power and, more importantly, as the champion of the ill-treated Irish people. These poems also show him as a disgruntled and frustrated man still harbouring and nursing personal grouse. But, the general impression that one forms of Swift after reading these poems is that of a man of principle and conviction who is ever ready to fight for a noble cause.

He warred with the Presbyterians whenever an attempt was made to repeal the existing laws which penalized the Dissenters in Ireland and, also with the Irish Parliament whenever it took up any proposed anti-clerical legislation. The Fable of the Biches (1715) and Brother Protestants (1733) are related to these moves besides being attacks on the Whig government and reiterations of his High-Church views. In the Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift once again one finds Swift's anti-Catholic and anti-Presbyterian Anglican stance. Moreover,

On Irish Bishops (1732), Judas (1732), and The Legion Club (1736), express his concern for the welfare of the Anglican Clergy of Ireland. The last named poem is also an invective on the Irish Parliament which is mentioned as a "Den of thieves" and its members as "Butchers", who would "Sell the Nation for a Pin".

Swift's entire Irish campaign was directed towards the right securing/to free citizenship for its people and a free economy for the country. In early 1720s the passing of certain measures that aimed at making Ireland more dependent upon England prompted Swift to speak for the Irish people. He wrote several pieces, like An Excellent New Song ... Seditious Pamphlet, in which he attacked all such measures of the Whig government. Once his silence was broken, he proceeded to express himself on other current issues as well: on the South-Sea Bubble, which had also added to the problems of the Irish people and on the proposed establishment of a National Bank in Ireland which, in his view, would have been harmful for the Irish economy.

Swift's Drapier's Letters (1724-25) pertaining to the explosive issue of Wood's Half-pence are rightly considered as masterpieces of political pamphleteering of a serious kind. But, in poetry, he dealt with this matter not only in a

lighter vein but also in a different style, writing three or four lampoonish poems like A Serious Poem upon William [redacted] (1724), An Epigram on Wood's Brass-Money (1724), A Simili (1725), etc. Swift's attacks on Walpole's ministry are presented in some other pieces which are equally harsh on the Irish Parliament and the Irish people whose timidity is held responsible for the humiliating treatment they were getting at the hands of the English Government. On Irish Club (1730) and The Legion Club (1736) are some such pieces in which Swift's patriotic zeal assumes indignant postures while alluding to the passive role of the Irish people and their representative body.

Besides the Irish affairs, Swift also lashed out at the Whig leaders and their government on purely English issues. His attacks were mainly directed against Walpole's personal and administrative shortcomings. Two poems of 1731, On Mr. Pulteney and Character of Sir Robert Walpole, are intended as exposures of Walpole's underhand and corrupt methods in running the administration of the country. To Mr. Gay (1731), The Beasts Confession (1732), Epistle to a Lady (1733) and On Poetry : A Rhapsody (1733) were also written to serve the same purpose, but in a more effective and open way. These latter poems also express Swift's wish to see the removal of Walpole from the political scene of England.

Two master-pieces of self-characterization, Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift (1731), and Life and Character of Dr. Swift (1731), contain the gist of Swift's political experiences and points of view. The latter poem refers to his attachment to the Anglican principles and, the former, to the fact that 'Fair LIBERTY was all his cry'. For Swift, one's right to live as a free citizen was a very precious thing and he believed that he was defending his own rights and those of others in attacking Walpole's despotic administration.

In brief, Swift's poems are all concerned with the political developments in London and in Dublin. In writing these pieces his aim was not so much to show off his literary wit but to support a party or a cause and effect certain results in keeping with his personal views.

Swift's poetry amply shows, in Y.B. Yeats' words, that he was "a practical politician in every thing he wrote"[1], for he had in him the urges that one looks for in a principled and well-intentioned administrator. His convictions added up to the following : he accepted the Revolution, disavowed with true Whiggish fervour the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, was naturally at home in the body of political theory standing in opposition to the doctrine of absolutism. At the same time, he was firmly loyal to the

1. Explorations, (London, 1962), p. 354.

Established Church, willing to concede some concession to the Protestant Non-Conformists without allowing them any political power. Through his writings (which, of course, include his poetry) he tried to project a politico-religious viewpoint that embraced all his principles and, still, was in accord with the temper and realities of the age. This implied a curious blend of Whiggism and Toryism. Swift, more than Pope, deserved to be called a Whig and a Tory at one and the same time[1] and this is exactly what Kathleen Williams has said in her book on Swift.[2]

1. Pope's statement in The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace,
   In moderation placing all my glory,
   While Tories call me Whigs, and Whigs a Tory.
   (ll. 67-68)
2. She calls him 'a State Whig and a Church Tory' in Jonathan Swift and the Age of Compromise, (Univ. of Kansan Press, 1958), p. 102. Swift should be called an 'Old Whig to distinguish him from the Walpolean Whigs.

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